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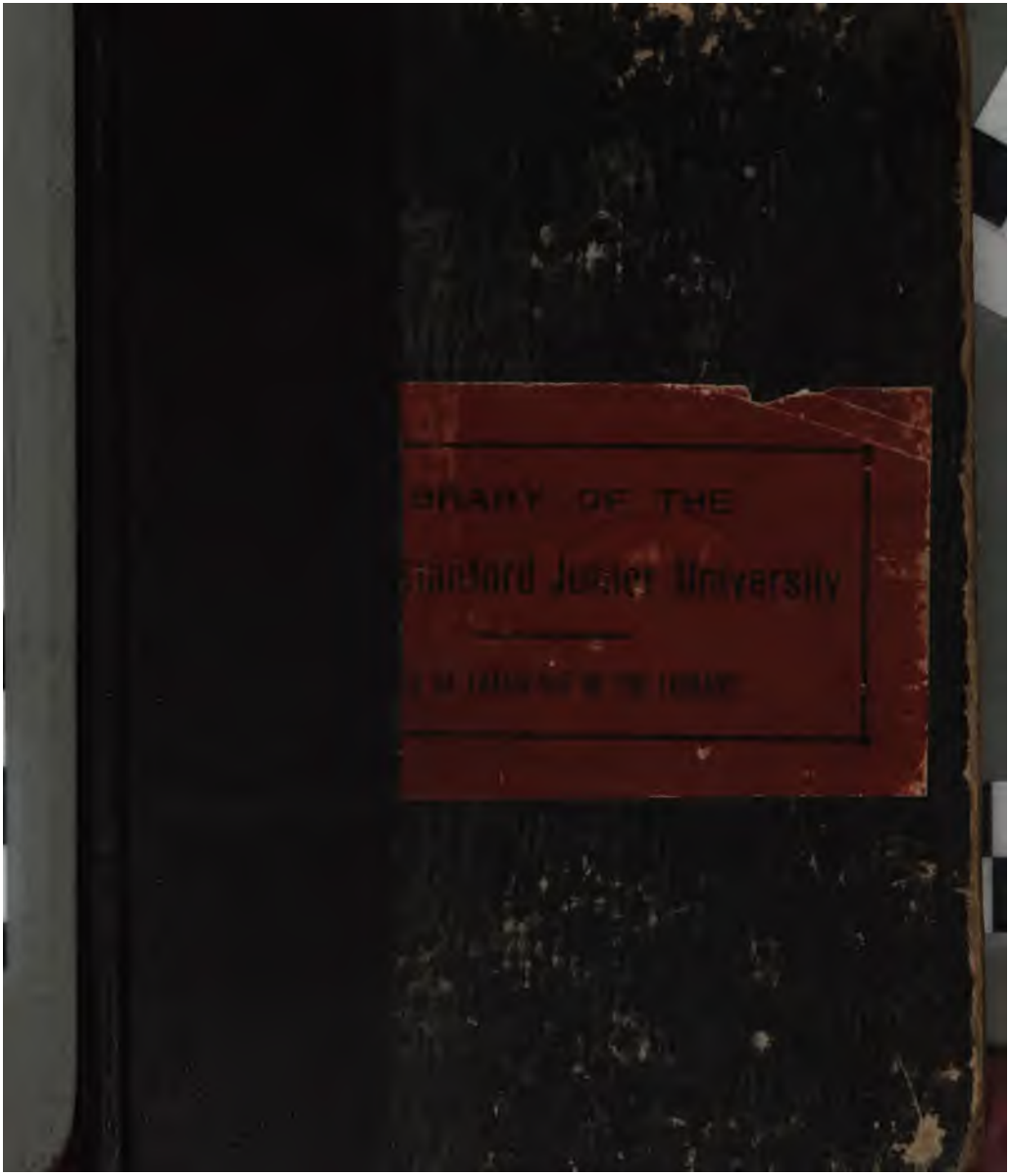
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VOL. 563.

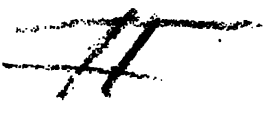
OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.



OLIVER CROMWELL'S

LETTERS AND SPEECHES:

WITH ELUCIDATIONS.

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT. 1657-58.

		Page
LETTER CCXV.	To the Mayor of Newcastle: Whitehall, 18 Dec. 1656 . . . . . Presbyterians and Independents.	1
— CCXVI.	To Card. Mazarin: Whitehall, 26 Dec. 1656 . Quarrel between Charles Stuart and his Brother.	3
SPEECH VI.	To the Second Protectorate Parliament, 23 January 1656-7 . . . . . Thanks for their Congratulation on the failure of Sindercomb's Plot.	7
KINGSHIP	. . . . .	16
LETTER CCXVII.	To the same Parliament: Whitehall, 25 Dec. 1656 . . . . . Case of James Nayler.	20
SPEECH VII.	To the Second Protectorate Parliament, 31 March 1657 . . . . . Reception of their Petition and Advice with their Offer of the Title of King. Returns pious thanks; craves time to consider; will then answer.	25
— VIII.	To a Committee of the Same Parliament, 3 April 1657 Answers with praise as to the Petition and Advice generally, but as to the Title of King, with distinct though not emphatic No.	28
— IX.	To the same Parliament, 8 April 1657 . . . . Would state his Doubts, if there were Opportunity given, — if there were some Conference, or the like, appointed.	33
— X.	Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine in regard to the Title of King, 11 April 1657 . . Difficulty as to how they shall proceed in this matter of Conferring.	40

Page

SPEECH XI. Second Conference with the same, 13 April 1657. . 53
Endeavours to rebut their arguments, used in the former Conference, in favour of the Title. Not of necessity; at best only of expediency or advantage. John Hampden and the Ironsides. Leaves the matter undecided: Conference to be renewed.

— XII. Third Conference with the same, 20 April 1657 . . 75
Replies to their argument drawn from Law; contends that whatever Title they, the Parliament, establish, be it that of Protector or another, will be law. For the rest, the matter not an essential; unimportant in comparison with others in this New Instrument of Government,—to which others let us rather address ourselves. Conference to be renewed on the morrow.

— XIII. Fourth Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine, 21 April 1657 86
Animadverts on various Articles of the Petition and Advice, or New Instrument, which seem to require reconsideration: leaves that of the Kingship unmeddled with.

— XIV. To the Second Protectorate Parliament in a body, 8 May 1657 129
Briefly refuses the Title of King.

— XV. To the same Parliament, 9 June 1657, on the Presentation of some Bills for assent 134
Thanks for their Supplies of Money, as the custom is.

LETTER CCXVIII. To Gen. Blake: Whitehall, 10 June 1657 . . 136
Jewel for the Victory at Santa Cruz.

— CCXIX. To Gen. Montague: Whitehall, 11 Aug. 1657 . 139
Order to sail.

— CCXX. To J. Dunch, Esq.: Hampton Court, 27 Aug. 1657 140
To call at Hampton Court.

— CCXXI. To Gen. Montague: Hampton Court, 30 Aug. 1657 140
In sanction of his treatment of the Dutch ships.

— CCXXII. To Sir W. Lockhart: Whitehall, 31 Aug. 1657 141
Mardike and Dunkirk. Peremptory: To bring Mazarin to the point.

— CCXXIII. To the same: same date 146
Same subject.

— CCXXIV. To Gen. Montague: Whitehall, 2 Oct. 1657 . 147
Christian Denokson to strengthen Mardike.

SPEECH XVI. To the Two Houses of Parliament; Opening of the Second Session of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 20 Jan. 1657-8 155
Reasons for thankfulness in such a Meeting: Religious Liberty, the great object of our struggles, gained,

Page

and in the way of being made secure; Peace hitherto; a Godly Ministry. Understand the works of God, what God has done for you; — and persevere and prosper.

SPEECH XVII. To the Two Houses of Parliament; the Commons having raised debates as to the Title of the other House, 25 Jan: 1657-8 165

Perils of the Nation; perils of the Protestant Interest in Europe at large; pressing need there is of unanimity. Exhortation and Remonstrance: Do not sacrifice great vital interests for titles and niceties.

— XVIII. Dissolution of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 4 Febr. 1657-8 191

What he might have expected in this Meeting of Parliament; what he has found in it: Angry debating; and the Nation on the verge of conflagration thereby. Dissolves the Parliament.

LETTER CCXXV. To Sir W. Lockhart: Whitehall, 26 May 1658 . 204

Protestants of the Valleys.

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR 214

APPENDIX A. Squire Papers 227

APPENDIX B. List of the Long Parliament 295

List of the Eastern-Association Committees . . 298

APPENDIX C.

NO.

1. Letter to Downhall 310
2. At Ely 311
3. Letter to Cambridge, with "Protestation" and "Preamble" . 313
4. Eastern Association: Threatened Rising of Papists in Norfolk 317
5. Gainsborough Fight 320
6. Letter to Fairfax, on the Action at Islip-Bridge and Bletchington 326
7. Battle of Naseby. Burial of Colonel Pickering. Two Letters concerning Ely 328
8. Langport Battle. Summons to Winchester 333
9. Army Troubles in 1647 336
10. Welsh Disturbances in 1648 339
11. Letter to the Derby House Committee after Preston Battle . 342
12. Letter to Derby-House Committee: March into Scotland, 1648 . 345
13. Letter in Behalf of Young Cholmely 348
14. Correspondence with the Mayor of Waterford 349
15. Exchange of Prisoners: Renegado Wogan 353
16. Ireland: Arrangements for the Administration of Justice there . 354

No.		Page
17.	Ireland: Operations in Tipperary	357
18.	Haselrig and Dunbar Battle	358
19.	Letter in Behalf of Colonel Maleverer's Family	360
20.	Letter in Behalf of John Arundel of Trerice	361
21.	Letter in Behalf of Colonel Clayton	362
22.	Letter in Behalf of Colonel Borlace	363
23.	March to Worcester	364
24.	After Worcester Battle: Letters to the Speaker	364
25.	Letter to Sister Elizabeth	366
26.	Letter to the Committee for Sequestrations in Behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Fincham	367
27.	To Oxford and Cambridge	368
28.	Letter to Lord Wharton about Henry Cromwell's Marriage	371
29.	Scraps from 1653	372
30.	From 1654-1655: Vowel's Plot; Rectory of Houghton Conquest; Design against the Spanish West Indies; Penruddock's Plot; New England	377
31.	Suffolk Yeomanry	387
32.	Final Speech on (or rather *not* on) the matter of the Kingship	389
33.	From 1657. Last Royalist Plot	392
34.	Two Mandates to Cambridge University	396
	Appendix	399

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1657-1658.

LETTERS CCXV., CCXVI.

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular constrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CCXV.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.

Whitehall, 18th December 1656.

Gentlemen, and my very good Friends,

My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves to

GERHARD FALCHS

him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other: — 'this' shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto; — a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Know-

ing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself "a name and "praise amongst all the people of the earth," — "He "will save her that halteth, and gather her that was "driven out, and will get them praise and fame in "every land, where they have been put to shame,"* And such "lame ones" and "driven-out ones" were not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands, — persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you; — being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER P.§

LETTER CCXVI.

CARDINAL MAZARIN, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-

* Zephaniah, iii. 19, 20.
§ Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand.

mothers, and one knows not what: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen-out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and back-stairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's: — of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of *Thurloe*;* and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A Letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches;** who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which by a hard necessity so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this "our weightiest affair," — not without weight to *me* at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present "on the word of a Christian King!" —

Concerning the "affair" itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The "Person" employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. "Berkley" is the Sir John Berkley who

* iv. 506; v. 753; &c. &c.

** Three insignificant official Notes to him: in Appendix, Nos. 29, 30.

rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;* the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of "Lockhart," Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others, — let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly, that their "affair" is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide: — as accordingly we find it did for many months,** whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'

'Whitehall,' 26th December 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage 'me' to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.***

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, "plucked many out of the fire," † — the raging fire of persecution, which did

* Antea, i. 244.

** Thurloe, iv. v. vi.: see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154.

*** To the Catholics here.

† Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable *Epistle*, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom you have entrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry on that work; and that either the Duke would have cooled in his suit,* or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290** were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, 'in regard' to some circumstances, I would. — If I am not mistaken in his 'the Duke's' character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send 'to' your Eminency by Lockhart.

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my se-

* His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion.

** Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance Bamfield.

curity upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach 'be' widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it, — I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and 'I' will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

Your servant,
OLIVER P.§

SPEECH VI.

SINDERCOMB.

The Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; "riding among his Highness's escort" in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with "gate-hinges ready filed through," if the deed could have been done; — but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination affair in other hands, with 1,600*l.* of ready money, "on the faith of a Christian King." Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's

§ Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a "Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex," says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.

place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow; — then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner, — in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, "on the faith of a Christian King;" nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Lifeguard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600*l*., said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, "which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;" road very narrow at that part; — road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force, — ancient "infernal-machines," in fact, — with these he will blow his Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven, — probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600*l*., had to try

something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has "a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down:" — set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday, 8th January 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday, January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, "near the Lord Lambert's seat." Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire; — finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, "fit almost to burn throuh stones," — with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach in it some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight! — His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned; — alas, Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, "wherein his nose was nearly cut off;" bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches: — inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him! — The emotion in the Parliament and in Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.*

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him.**

* Burton, ii. 322, 3, 355; Official Narrative (in Cromwelliana, pp. 160, 161); State-Trials, v. 8 Sindercomb.

** Commons Journals, vii. 481, 484, 493; Burton's Diary, i. 369, 377.

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with millifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday 23d January 1656-7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Millifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;* but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply; — rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, "part of an ancient wooden staircase," or balustrade of a staircase, "long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;"** and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Millifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

"MR. SPEAKER,

I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion: — but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That

* Burton, ii. 488.

** Cromwelliana, p. 162. See *Thurloe* (vi. 49), and correct poor *Noble* (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657.

the life that is lengthened, may be spent and improved to His honour who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you represent.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kindness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God, to congratulate my mercy; so give me leave in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [*Rusty, but sincere.*]

Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, and in some respect, I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it, — Three Nations, and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [*Indisputably!*] In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world, — without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [*Here is an idea of one's own.*] But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu*. And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy of congratulation.

This is furnished, — give me leave to say, for I believe it is true, — with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights, — in respect of their rights and privileges, — very an-

cient and honourable. And *in* this People, in the midst of this People, 'you have, what is still more precious,' a *People* (I know every one will hear 'and acknowledge' it) that are to God "as the apple of His eye," — and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [*We hope so!*] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not to be long rested-in further than *as* they are conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [*Yea!*] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [*And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks?*] That endeavours will be 'made' that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart 'I think' you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which, in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavour, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution.

I do 'also' for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as, — without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for any favour or respect from *them*, save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words, — such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded, — to speak with confidence before the Lord, — is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

You have a good Eye 'to watch over you,' — and in that I will share with your good favours. A good God; a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm: and borne His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against thoso that 'would' have abused such Nations, — such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence of His goodness and presence. And He "hath done things wonderful amongst us," "by terrible things in righteousness."* He hath visited by "wonderful things!" [*A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are* MEN *alive in them!*] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another; and to speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [*Where now are the Star-Chambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land! The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-*

* Isaiah, xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide, — where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!]

Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him," "that glory may dwell in our land!" I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him; — and let us more fear Him! If this 'present' mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth, — let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him! [*Amen!*] Then we have done, 'that includes all;' seeing such a blessing as His salvation "is nigh them that fear Him," — seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, 'to endeavour with our whole strength' "that glory may dwell in our land."

'Yes,' if it be so, "Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other." We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebellious children; — and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons "he did not *hear* well of

them," when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say, — though I will not descant upon the words, — that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And, truly, Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [*Hear this Lord Protector!*] And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace, — you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you. §

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. "He was of that wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul falls *asleep* at death:"* a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill with due ignominy, and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.**

§ Burton's Diary (from Landsdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490-3.

* Cromwelliana, p. 162.

** "Equal to a Roman in virtue," says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunkey, at an after-period, saw good to claim it. A

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, "the Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at "Margaret's Westminster, partook of a most princely Enter-"tainment," by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. "After dinner his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and "there entertained them with rare music, both of voices and "instruments, till the evening;"* his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them; — and now we will speak of something else.

LETTER CCXVII.; SPEECHES VII.—XIV.

KINGSHIP.

THIS Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or "hundred Excluded Members" are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be; — but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans, — the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, c

Pamphlet much noised-of in those months and afterwards; recommendi all persons to *assassinate* Cromwell; — has this merit, considerable or n and no other worth speaking of.

* Newspapers (in Burton, i. 377); Commons Journals, vii. 493.

he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse! — To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunkey head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunkey. If not the noblest and worshipfullest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying! —

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament; — admit nevertheless that its History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; "debated whether it "should be debated," "put the question whether this question "should be put;" — and in a mild way neutralised one another, and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been "one Mr. Burton." It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been printed under the title of *Burton's Diary;* and this Editor has faithfully read it, — not without wonder, once more, at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human mind! Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton, — let us continue to call him "Burton," though that was not his name, — cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by impulse from without, — that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts "of an high nature." And now, by what

possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them; now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature at all, — mere wearisome *ephemera*, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity, and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through *it;* perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it; — and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*, — who, as we say, is not "Mr. Burton" at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was!* Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical! —

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued "Decimation" or *Ten-per-centing* of the Royalists;** whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler, — excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-

* Compare the Diary, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with Commons Journals, vii. 588; and again Diary, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with Commons Journals, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which 'I' the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons;* most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the "Court of Requests," — a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

** Commons Journals, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656-7.

Nayler Parliament. Four-hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him; — shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated; — in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature, — by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour, appointed only for the oxen of the gods! — The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread-and-water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.*

* Sentence pronounced, Commons Journals, vii. 486, 7 (16th Dec. 1656);

LETTER CCXVII.

Concerning which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to make; — for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-Courts, Parliament and Single Person, are never yet very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now! On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intimates that he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness; and reads the same in these words:

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament: To be communicated to the Parliament.

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler; Although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person: Yet We, being entrusted in the present Government, on behalf of the People of the Nations; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it, — Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December 1856.§

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses; — and in fact

executed in part, Thursday 18th Dec. (ib. 470); — petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in Somers Tracts, vi. 22-29.

§ Burton, i. 370; see Commons Journals, vii. 475.

into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King. —

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of "the Page of History" this last business has given rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere "feather in a man's cap," throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us; and cannot yet be consumed by fire; — not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver; and asked candid mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a

very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted, condition; — growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,* which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkeyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general —!— But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood! — Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire;* and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

Monday, 23*d February* 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce "Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation," — leave, namely, to read this Paper "which has come to his hand," which is written in the form of a "Remonstrance from the Parliament" to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall

* vi. 349-403.

be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority "that a candle be brought in." Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther to-morrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day, — let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.* On farther manipulation, this "Remonstrance" of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name "Petition and Advice presented to his Highness," became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has "a very good resentment of it." The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday, 27th February. "The Parliament keep a Fast "within their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, "carrying on the work of the day; it being preparatory to the "great work now on hand of Settling the Nation."** In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as "a scandal to the People of God," "hazardous to his High-"ness's person, and making way for the return of Charles "Stuart," are terribly apparent to them! —

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically "hears of this project for the first time, — *he*" (with emphasis

* Commons Journals, vii. 496, 7.
** Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

on the word, and a look at some individuals there) "has not "been caballing about it, for it or against it. That the Title "'King' need not startle *them* so dreadfully; inasmuch as some "of them well know" (what the Historical Public never knew before) "it was already offered to him, and pressed upon him, "by themselves when this Government was undertaken. That "the Title King, a feather in a hat, is as little valuable to him "as to them. But that the fact is, they and he have not suc- "ceeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the schemes *they* "clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their First Pro- "tectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have "all proved failures; — nay this Parliament itself, which they "clamoured for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation "is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; "and really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually "the original Instrument of Government does need mending "in some points. That a House of Lords, or other check upon "the arbitrary tendencies of a Single House of Parliament, "may be of real use: see what they, by their own mere vote "and will, I having no power to check them, have done with "James Nayler: may it not be any one's case, some other "day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again. — So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. "Three Major-Generals," we find next week, "have already come round. "The House hath gone on with much unity."*

The House in fact is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. "Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;" so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess! — Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen

* *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i. 382-4), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7th March 1656-7; — to the effect abridged as above.

well-debated Articles;* fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, is to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

SPEECH VII.

On Tuesday 31st March 1657, "the House rose at eleven "o'clock, and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole "House, repaired to his Highness at Whitehall,"** to present this same Petition and Advice, "engrossed on vellum," and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech*** is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur:*

Mr. Speaker,

This Frame of Government which it hath pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me, — truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it,† and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world†† being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world.

Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is [of weight; the greatest weight of anything that ever was

* Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 *et seqq.*
** Commons Journals, vii. 516.
*** Burton, i. 397-413.
† In this long florid speech.
†† Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.

laid upon a man. And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth, — in each of which much more than my life is concerned, — truly I think I have no more to desire of you at present, but that you would give me time to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may return to so great a business as this. —

I have lived the latter part of my age in, — if I may say so, — the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would 'so move,' nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me! — And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the weight of what hath lain upon me: — except by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure to me.

And should I give any resolution in this 'matter' suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto, — it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [*Of me to be King*] in such a business as this. It would savour more to be of the flesh, to

proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if, — whatsoever the issue of this 'great matter' be, — 'my decision in' it have *such* motives in me, have *such* a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims* towards the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well, — as they are always, or for the most, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes, I do believe, yours now are); — yet if these considerations** fall upon a person or persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may be at the end of his work; [*Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness! — A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones*] — who, to please any of those humours or considerations which are of this world, shall run upon such a rock as this is,*** — without due consideration, without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things *to* Him as if for life and death, that such an answer may be received 'from Him' as may be a blessing to the person [*Me*] who is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions of the persons [*You*] that have prepared and

* *Skbaudi*, but do not insert, "which you profess."

** Means "your choice in regard to such purpose;" speaks delicately, in an oblique way.

*** "is," — or may be: this of the Kingship.

perfected this work: — 'why then,' it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person he makes love to; and, as often turns out, it proves a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at, — why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born! —

I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing you have made progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I 'on my side' may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful, — thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity; — and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can.§

SPEECH VIII.

Friday, 3d April 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated,

§ Burton's Diary, i. 413-16.

extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is, — a negative, but none of the most decided.*

My Lords,

I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; 'the desire' which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [*It is yet but three days, your Highness.*]

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion, and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God; — which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done that which was never done before! And I pray it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is now done as never was put on

* Commons Journals, vii. 519, 20; Burton, i. 417.

anything since Christ's time, for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [*Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.*] The *other* thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God, — yet it is the *next best* God hath given men in this world; and if well cared-for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, 'or two different things,' I wish my soul may never enter into *their* secrets! [*We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!*]

These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men and also men of honour, — like yourselves, English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if it did not comprehend these Two ends! — Meanwhile only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations which do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than I now bear. [*What* SHALL *I answer to that!*]

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical;

and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all. [*Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.*] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [*Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!*]

I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath nothing but good in it, — according to worldly approbation of* sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart; — and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingratitude. — But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [*Profound silence.*] And as I should reckon it a very great presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper, — (except 'in' some very few things, the 'new' Instrument, 'this Paper,' bears testimony to itself), so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are

* Means "value for."

most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge. [*Won't have it, then!*]

And if the "answer of the tongue," as well as the preparation of the heart, be "from God," I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business — [*Sentence breaks down*] — 'For' though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it in common with others. — — I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [*Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!*]

The most I said in commendation of the 'new' Instrument may be retorted on me; — as thus: "Are "there such good things provided for 'in this Instru- "ment;' will you refuse to accept them because of such "an ingredient?" Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved, 'for the whole Paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.§

§ Additional Ayscough mss. no. 6125: printed in *Burton*, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161.

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think! — No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No! —

SPEECH IX.

Wednesday, 8*th April* 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will "present reasons to his Highness;" has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready; — and, this day, "at three in the afternoon," walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of "Reasons," to present the same.* What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his "Reasons," which are very brief, remain on the Record;** and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April 1657:

"*Resolved*, That the Parliament having lately presented "their Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, where-"unto they have not as yet received satisfaction; and the "matters contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed-"upon by the Great Council and Representative of the Three "Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most condu-

* Commons Journals, ii. 520-1 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421.
** Ibid.

BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ

"eing to the good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and "Civil concernments: They have therefore thought fit.

"To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in "mind of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect "of this Advice; and again to desire you to give your Assent "thereunto."

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to this Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost, — his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:

MR. SPEAKER,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice; — readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some; [*Malignants there are who have such notions*] — yet doubtless it should be to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we* have laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the weight of authority 'you have' in advising these things.

I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the Things Advised-to; as being things which tend to the settlement of the chiefest Interests * that can fall into the hearts of men to devise or endeavour after. And at such a time, 'too;' when truly, I may think,

* "things" again, *in orig.*

the Nation is big with expectation of something that may add to their 'security of' Being. — I therefore must needs put a very high esteem 'upon,' and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

And so I have had of this Instrument: — and, I hope, so I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been, — if I flatter not myself, — from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and all considerations of that kind! [*Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the* MAKER *of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!*] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so! —

Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this Paper [*Looking on the Vellum*] makes me think you intended "Advice;" and I should transgress against all reason, should I make any other construction than that you did intend Advice: 'yet' —! — [*Still hesitates, then?*] — I would not lay a burden on my beast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength), — I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your "Advice" with my own Infirmities. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents* to know how he may an-

* Meaning "charges," "offices."

swer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had 'in this matter;' and still have; and therefore when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [*The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" Highness then had: — can it not grow an Affirmative?*] — and am a person that have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me! [*Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.*] —

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, Nothing less will enable *him* to the discharge of it than Assistance from Above. And it may very well require in such a one, so convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the Lord in such an undertaking! — And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. [*Still Negative, your Highness?*] If I undertake anything *not* in Faith, I shall serve you in my own Unbelief; — and I shall then be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation ever had!

Give me leave, therefore, *to ask counsel.* I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.* — I would

* Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.

not urge to you the point of "Liberty." Surely you have provided for Liberty, — I have borne my witness to it, — Civil and Spiritual! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made, 'for Liberty' to all, — and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me*. The "Liberty" I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore — ! —

They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action will be best able to measure advice to others. [*Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?*] There are many things in this 'Instrument of' Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be elucidated* as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them! Otherwise, I say truly, — I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of 'this' as my trust and duty, nor 'sufficiently' informed. 'Not persuaded or informed;' and so not actuated 'by a call of *duty*,' as I know you intend I should be, — and as every man in the Nation should be. You have provided for 'every one of' them as a Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,** rationally and conscientiously! — And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this:

I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to do it; and 'capacitate' yourselves to receive it; — and to do what other things may in-

* "deserve much information," *in orig.*

** Means "in a way possible for him;" "*does* possibly" is the phrase *in orig.*

form me a little more particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, and which has now been read by you to me.

Truly I hope when 'once' I understand the ground of these things — the whole being 'meant' neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation, — there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out what* may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to you.§

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, "to receive satisfaction," — has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated: Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all;** and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however, there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never; — explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Thursday 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently

* "those things" *in orig.*

§ Old Pamphlet (in Parliamentary History, xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164-6).

** List in Commons Journals, vii. 521; in Somers Tracts, vi. 351.

seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ, — which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us, — perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things! — But in two days time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a wellwisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.* Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attemps under Charles Second, some two years hence! The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its "satisfaction to his Highness;" his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness, — which unfortunately are not lost: which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old

* Narrative in Thurloe, vi. 184-8.

Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted;* in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it; let us endeavour to get through it, — through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes, — they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea; — but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it! —

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words, — dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X.

Properly an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in

it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here — simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then, — the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday, 11th April 1657, "about nine in the morning;" has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats; — and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break up and become a kind of Utterance in this thickskinned manner: — really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is! —

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note, — in the abridged lucidified state:*

Lord Whitlocke. "Understands that the Committee is "here only to receive what his Highness has to *offer*; such the "letter and purport of our Instructions; which I now read. "[*Reads it.*] Your Highness mentions 'the Government that "now is;' seems to hint thereby: The Government being well "now, why change it? If that be your Highness's general ob- "jection, the Committee will give you satisfaction."

The Lord Protector. Sir, I think both parties

* Somers Tracts, vi. 352.

of us meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in this great business; and truly that is what I have all the reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of proceeding. Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have, — in preparing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the honour of Two Conferences;* and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the Paper itself, 'quoted by my Lord Whitlocke,' which doth a little warrant that: "To offer such reasons for his satisfaction," &c. — Now, Sir, it's certain the occasion of all this 'Conference' is the Answer I already made; that's the occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, Sir, I doubt whether by your plan — — If you will *draw out my reasons from me*, I will offer them to you: but on my own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour — ["*To go by my method*," *his Highness means; to "offer me* YOUR *Reasons, and* DRAW *me out, rather than oblige me to* COME *out*"] — I shall take it as a

* Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee: Speeches VII. (31st March), IX. (8th April), and VIII. (3d April).

favour if it please you? I will leave you together to consider your own thoughts of it. [*Motioning to go.*"]

Lord Whitlocke. "This Committee, being sent to wait "upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give "the *Parliament's* reasons for what the Parliament hath done. "But any gentleman here may give for your Highness's satis- "faction his own particular apprehension of them. And if you "will be pleased to go in the way you have propounded, and "on any point *require* a satisfaction from the Committee, I "suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you "satisfaction." [*Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.*]

The Lord Protector. If this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you? — However, I think it is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then it is *as* clear that there must be reasons and arguments which have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.* I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving your own reasons. If I should write down any of *them*, I could not call that "the reason of Parliament." [*Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.*] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient "reason" is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that "reason" —! — I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing

* As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.

[*Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship*]; and do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit, — I will not urge it farther upon you, — to proceed in that way, it will be a favour to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and in that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, and meet again in the afternoon.

Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, — one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which "it is in our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to "proceed according to what method your Highness finds best "for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, "is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but "general satisfaction."

The Lord Protector. If you will please to give me leave. [*Clearing his throat to get under way.*] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls under the notion of Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, "Petition and Advice," — that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing. Only, the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament,* I did offer to them that they might put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars, 'any or all particulars.' Now, no question I might easily offer something particular

* Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.

for debate, if I thought that would answer the end. [*What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.*] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we are, — that we may attain the general end, which is Settlement. [*Safe ground here, your Highness!*] The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is not more in his heart than in mine! — — I would go into some particulars [*Especially one particular, the Kingship*], to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration 'made;' which might well enough let you into the business, — that it might.* Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [*I had counted on being drawn out, not on* COMING *out: I understood I was the young lady, and* YOU *the wooer!*] I confess I did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the Parliament, 'which my Lord Whitlocke cites;' whether I even read it or no I cannot tell. — [*Pause.*] — If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer, 'and so let us into the business;' — though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I shall very freely submit to you.

GLYNN (with official solemnity). "The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction."

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES, — Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of "Old Subtlety" Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper, — opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard saga-

* A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

city,* to say: "Looking upon the Order, I find that *we* may "offer your Highness *our* reasons, if your Highness's dissatis- "faction be to the alteration of the Government whether in "general or in particular." — So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I am very ready to say, I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable to the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general 'fact,' That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Government. But you having done it in such way, and rendered me so far an interested party in it by making such an Overture to me [*As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention*], — I shall be very glad 'to learn,' if you please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.** I shall be very ready to specify objections, in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; 'in order' at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things; —

* Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*.
** "shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this," in *orig.*

for better advantage 'to us all;' for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

'And now,' if you please, — As to the *first* of the things [*Kingship*], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. And I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, 'if they were now stated to me,' lead us into such objections or doubts as I may have to offer; and would be a very great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Whereupon Lord Whitlocke, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;* — which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact the learned pleadings of the illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

"That perhaps the former Instrument of Government "having originated in the way it did, the Parliament con- "sidered it would be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme "Authority; such was their reason for taking it up. 'Their "intentions I suppose were' this and that, at some length. "As for the new Title, that of *Protector* was not known to the "Law; that of *King* is, and has been for many hundreds of "years. If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some "argue, our Instrument has only its own footing to rest upon;

* Somers, vi. 355.

"but with that of *King*, 'it will ground itself in all the ancient "foundations of the Laws of England,'" &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, — old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair, — him also the reader shall conceive speaking for the space of half an hour:

"'May it please your Highness, Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! "'Upon due consideration you shall find that the whole body "of the Law is carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magistrate "being called King. Hum—m—m! [*Monotonous humming for "ten minutes.*] 'The title of Protector is not *limited* by any rule "of Law that I understand;' the title of King is. Hum—m—m! "King James wanted to change his Title, and that only from "*King of England* to *King of Great Britain:* and the Parlia- "ment could not consent, so jealous were they of new titles "bringing new unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! "The Long Parliament once thought of changing its title to "*Representative of the People;* but durst not. Hum—m—m! "'*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*' Drum-m-m! '*Vox populi:* "it is the voice of the Three Nations that offers your Highness "this Title.' Drum-m-m!" — — Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.* At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me into a way of more preparedness, according to the method and way I had conceived for myself, to return some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble — Surely the business requires, from any man in the world in any case, and much more from me, that there be given to it serious and

* Somers, vi. 356, 7.

true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [*Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness; — but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even* THINK *themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts," after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way; — witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.*] That is what I mean by true answers.

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, having taken some short note of it as I do [*Glancing at his Note-paper*], have been in a condition, this afternoon [*Would still fain be off!*] — if it had not been a trouble to you, — to return my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed that way, — truly I think I may very well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; as it is very like to do. [*A Drama* COMPOSING *itself as it gets* ACTED, *this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.*]

I say therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther in speaking of these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my own objections 'too.'

[*An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.*]

Lord Chief-Justice Glynn steps forward, speaks largely; then Sir Charles Wolseley steps forward; and Nathaniel Fiennes steps forward; and Lord Broghil (Earl of Orrery that is to be) step forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all:*

Lord Broghil. "By an act already existing (the 11th of "Henry VII.), all persons that obey a 'King *de facto*' are to "be held guiltless; not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. "Think of this. — And then 'in the 7th and last place,' I ob- "serve: The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pre- "tended King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons "divorced may come together again; but if the person "divorced be married to another, there is no chance left of "that!" — —

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

The Lord Protector. I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things** that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate, [*He accepts, then?*] if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say, this ought

* Somers, p. 363.

** Means "anything, — the Kingship for one thing."

to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath condescended so far as to do me this honour (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of the grounds of things,— [*Sentence breaks down*] — This is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I wish I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest man in giving an answer to these things, — according to such insight* either as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I may be helped into by reasoning with you. But indeed I did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave you. [*Well!*] For I must say, I should be a person very unworthy of such favour if I should prevaricate in saying things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must 'also' say, I am in the best way I could be 'in' for information; and I shall gladly receive it.

Here have been divers things spoken by you today, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I think the arguments and reasonings that have been used were upon these three heads:** *First*, Speaking to the thing simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the positive reasons upon which it stands. Then '*secondly*, Speaking' comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order to show the goodness of it comparatively, 'in comparison with our present title and foundation.' It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do the work

* "desire" *in orig.*: but there is no sense in that.
** "accounts" *in orig.*

which this other fails in. And *thirdly*, Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from the thing itself, but are considerations drawn from the temper of the English People, what will gratify them, 'and so on;' — which is surely considerable. As also 'some things were said' by way of anticipation of me in my answer; speaking to some objections which others have made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [*The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head, — as is sometimes the way with him.*]

To answer objections, I know, is a very weighty business; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who know somewhat how to answer them, — 'to whom they are not strange,' having already in part been suggested to them by the Debates already had.

But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken those things [*Looking at his Notes*] that have been spoken, — which truly are to be acknowledged as very learnedly spoken, — I hope you will give me a little time to consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration.

Lord Whitlocke. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

The Lord Protector. On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you.§

§ Somers Tracts, vi. 351-365.

And so, with many bows, *exeunt*. — Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them; — the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrade says: "The Protector often "advised about this" of the Kingship "and other great busi- "nesses with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint" (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with "Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and "Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together "in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to "him. He would sometimes by very cheerful with them; and "laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; "and by way of diversion would make verses with them," play crambo with them, "and every one must try his fancy. He "commonly called for tobacco, pipes and a candle, and would "now and then take tobacco himself;" which was a very high attempt. "Then he would fall again to his serious and great "business" of the Kingship; "and advise with them in those "affairs. "And this he did often with them; and their counsel "was accepted, and" in part "followed by him in most of his "greatest affairs," — as well as it deserved to be.*

SPEECH XI.

On Monday, April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning,** according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks: — addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee:

My Lord,

I think I have a very hard task on my hand. Though it be but to give an account of *myself*, yet I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give

* Whitlocke, p. 647. ** at "eight," say the Journals, vii. 522.

an account of "myself:" yet that is a business very comprehensive of others; — 'comprehending' us all in some sense, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all the interests of these Three Nations!

I confess I have two things in view. The *first* is, To return some answer to what was so well and ably said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title in the Instrument of Settlement. [*This is the First thing; what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.*] I hope it will not be expected I should answer everything that was then said: because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and Settlements by the Laws; in which I am sure I could never be well skilled, — and therefore must the more ask pardon for what I have already transgressed 'in speaking of such matters,' or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my 'present' answer to you.

Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the Law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness, to inforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the ground of Necessity, — why, then, I have no room to answer: for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there *were* such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments. — It was said: "Kingship is not a Title, but an Office, so "interwoven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, "that they cannot, or cannot well, be executed and ex- "ercised without 'it,' — partly, if I may say so, upon

"a supposed ignorance which the Law hath of any "other Title. It knows no other; neither doth any "know another. And, by reciprocation, — this said "Title, or Name, or Office, you were farther pleased to "say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the "power and prerogatives of it; which are by the Law "made certain; and the Law can tell when it [*King-"ship*] keeps within compass, and when it exceeds its "limits. And the Law knowing this, the People can "know it also. And the People do love what they "know. And it will neither be *pro salute populi*, nor "for our safety, to obtrude upon the People what they "do not nor cannot understand."

It was said also, "That the People have always, "by their representatives in Parliament, been unwill-"ing to vary Names, — seeing they love settlement "and known names, as was said before." And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the Title: and the other in the Long Parliament, where they being otherwise rationally moved to adopt the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," refused it for the same reason. [*Lenthall tries to blush.*] — It was said also, "That the holding to this word "doth strengthen the 'new' Settlement; for hereby there "is not anything *de novo* done, but merely things are "revolved into their old current." It was said, "That "it is the security of the Chief Magistrate, and that it "secures all who act under him." — Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds; they are so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to

make *any* answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, they are not *of necessity*, they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty 'to speak;' otherwise I am concluded before I speak. — Therefore it will behove me to say what I can, Why these are not *necessary* reasons; why they are not — why *it** is not (I *should* say) so interwoven in the Laws but that the Laws may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satisfaction of the people, and answering all objections equally well, without such a Title as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds.** And when I have said what I can say as to that 'latter point,' — I hope you will *think* a great deal more than I say. [*Not convenient to* SPEAK *everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many "scrupulous fellows, considerable in their own conceit," glaring into the business, with eyes much sharper than they are deep!*]

Truly though Kingship be not a 'mere' Title, but the Name of an Office which runs through the 'whole of the' Law; yet is it not so *ratione nominis*, by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies.

* The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

** "Grounds" originating with myself independently of yours. Is this "the second" thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify after the "first", when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

It is a Name of Office plainly implying a Supreme Authority: is it more; or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a Name of Office, plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if so, why then I should suppose, — I am not peremptory in anything that is matter of deduction or inference of my own, — but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall be the Name under which the Supreme Authority acts — [*Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible without speech!*] Why, I say, if it had been those Four or Five Letters, or whatever else it had been —! That signification goes to the *thing*, certainly it does; and not to the name. [*Certainly!*] Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly in the right of the Authority, I mean the Legislative Power, — in the right of the Legislative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. Therefore the name is only derived from that 'Authority.' And certainly they, 'the primary Legislative Authority,' had the disposal of it, and might have detracted 'from it:' — and I hope it will be no offence to say to you, as the case now stands, "So may you." And if it be so that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of *necessity* in your argument; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it. [*Is the Kingship expedient?*]

Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original question, — which I hope is altogether *out* of the question [*His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner,* "YOU *don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by you or by any creature!*"], — I had rather have any Name from this Parliament than

any other Name without it: so much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind, — though it be an uncertain way of arguing, *what* mind *they* are of.* I think we may say it without offence; for I would give none! [*No offence to you, Honourable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very difficult to do!*] — Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if that be one of your arguments — [*"That:" what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King? — His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases*] — I hope I may urge against it, that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect. But I do say undoubtingly (let us think about other things, 'about the mind of the Nation and such like,' what we will), What the Parliament settles is what will run, 'and have currency, through the Law; and will lead the thread of Government through this Land equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what hath been was upon the same account, 'by the same authority.' Save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing [*This thing of Kingship*], it is but upon the same account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with consent of the whole, — there is the ori-

* Naturally a delicate subject: some assert the Nation has never recognised his Highness, — his Highness himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

ginal of it. And consent of the whole will 'still,' I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all; [*The same tailor-metaphor a second time*] — and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong!

And if so, then, under favour to me, I think these arguments from the Law are all *not* as of *necessity*, but are to be understood as of *conveniency*. It is in your power to dispose and settle; and beforehand we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that were of old, — especially as this individual thing, the Name or Title, — according to the Parliament's appointment. — 'Is not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs.' Why then, there will (with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to the other considerations you adduced: otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped! [*His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.*]

There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. [*Thing of the Kingship.*] But I suppose it will 'have to' stand on its expediency — Truly I should have urged one consideration more which I forgot [*Looks over his shoulder in the jungle and bethinks him*], — namely, the argument not of reason only, but of *experience*. It is a short one, but it is a true one (under favour), and is known to you all in the fact of it (under favour) [*A damnable iteration; but too characteristic to be omitted*]: That the Supreme Authority going by *another* Name and under another Title than that of King hath been, why it hath been already twice complied-with! [*Long Parliament, called "Keepers of the Liberties of England," found compliance; and now the*

"*Protectorate*" *finds.*] 'Twice:' under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and also since I exercised the place, it hath been complied-with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this, 'on the part of both these Authorities,' was a beginning with the highest degree of Magistracy at the first alteration; and 'at a time' when that 'Kingship' was the Name 'established:' and the new Name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very Name, I say, was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry on the 'Public' Justice of the Nation. I remember very well, my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled: yet upon consideration, — if I mistake not, — I believe so, — they, there being among them (without reflection) as able and as learned as have sat there, — though they did, I confess, at first, demur a little, — *they* did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. [*Untwist this extraordinary* WITHE *of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic of Oliver!*] And as for my own part [*My own Protectorate*], I profess I think I may say: Since the beginning of *that* change, — though I should be loath to speak anything vainly, — but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the "Halcyon Days of Peace," — from the Twentieth of Elizabeth to King James's and King Charles's time. I do not think but the Laws have proceeded with as much freedom and justice, and with less of private solicitation, since I came to the Government, as they did in those years so named, — 'Halcyon.' I do not think, under favour, — [*His*

Highness gets more emphatic] — that the Laws had a freer exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, in those years than now; or that the Judge has been less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in *double* so many years in all those times 'named' "of Peace!" [*Sentence involving an incurable Irishbull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!*] And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.* — And therefore I say, under favour: These two Experiences do manifestly show that it is not a *Title*, though never so interwoven with our Laws, that makes the Law to have its free passage, and to do its office without interruption (as we venture to think it is now doing): 'not a Title, no;' and if a Parliament shall determine that another Name run through the Laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage as this 'of King ever did.' Which is all I have to say upon that head.

And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under a more indifferent consideration:** and so I shall arrive 'at the Second thing I had in view,' at some issue of answering for *myself* in this great matter. And all this while, nothing that I say doth any way determine as to my final resolution, or 'intimate any' thought against the Parliament's wisdom in this matter; but 'endeavoureth' really and honestly and plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give. The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck with me, and doth yet stick. As truly, and I hinted

* Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law.

** "Other things," your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

the other day,* it seemed as if your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and partly comparative grounds; stating the matter as you were then pleased to do, — for which I gave no cause that I know of, that is, for comparing the effects of Kingship with those of such a Name as I at present bear, with 'those of' the Protectorship 'to wit.' I say, I hope it will not be understood that I contend for the Name; or for any name, or any thing 'of a merely extraneous nature;' but truly and plainly 'for the substance of the business,' — if I speak as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person under the disposal of the Providence of God, — neither "naming" one thing nor other; but only endeavouring to give fit answer as to this proposed Name or Title.** For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody — 'much less to the Parliament.' I professed I had not been able, — and I truly profess I have not yet been able, — to give a rule to myself 'in regard to your Proposal.' I would be understood in this. [*Yes, your Highness.* "*That it is not doubt of the Par-*
"*liament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or post-*
"*ponence of one 'name' to another; but doubt as to the*
"*substantial expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty*
"*as to God's will and monition in regard to it, — that*
"*has made and still makes me speak in this uncomfortable,*
"*haggling, struggling and wriggling manner. It is no*
"*easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of such*
"*depth! An affair of Courtship moreover, which grows*

* Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

** The original (*Somers*, vi. 368) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfullest *lenses*, yields at last, — with some slight changes of the points and so forth, — this sense as struggling at the bottom of it.

"*and has to grow by the very handling of it! I would "not be misunderstood in this.*"]

I am a man standing in the Place I am in [*Clearly, your Highness*]; which Place I undertook not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil [*Note this*], — which I did see was imminent on the Nation. I say, we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily 'have' run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the Place which I now have, [*With tones, with a look of sorrow, solemnity and nobleness; the brave Oliver!*] A Place, I say, not so much of doing good, — which a man lawfully *may*, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience, — a man *may* (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience; a man may lawfully, as the case may be (though it is a very tickle case), desire a Place to do good in! [*Window once more into his Highness! "Tickle" is the old form of* TICKLISH: "*a tickle case indeed,*" *his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does occur, — shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums, that neglects it when it does!*] I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the Place, that I could so much do good; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil — And therefore I am not contending for one "name" compared with another; — and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring 'the name' Kingship to Protectorship. For I should almost think any "name" were better than my Name; and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for such business; [*Your Highness? — But St. Paul too professed*

himself "the chief of sinners," and has not been altogether thought to "cant" in doing so!] — and I compliment not, God knows it! But this I should say, That I do think, you, in the settling of the peace and liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for somewhat that may beget a consistence, 'ought to attend to that;' otherwise the Nation will fall in pieces! And in that, so far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a Constable 'if you like!' For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish. [*Hear his Highness!*] And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone, That you yet have peace.

Why now, truly, — if I may advise, — I wish to God you may but be so happy as to keep the peace still!* If you cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this 'that we are now upon,' I wish to God we may still have peace, — that I do! But the "fruits of righteousness" are shown in "meekness;" a better thing than we are aware of! — I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such necessity of this Name of King; for the other Names may do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to the matter), why I cannot undertake this Name. [*We are now fairly entered upon the Second head of method.*] And truly I must needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. And you will be able to judge of them when

* If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole inquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.

I have told you them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.

If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say that I do, "know my calling from the first to this day." I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me 'therein' as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly, — and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too, — desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all, — Mr. John Hampden. [*Hear, hear; — a notable piece of History!*] At my first going out into this engagement,* I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not.** "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old "decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of "fellows; and," said I, "their troops are gentlemen's "sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you

* enterprise.

** A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough; — and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters. "It's no lie." which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent, and affirmation, must be borne in mind.

"think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows "will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have "honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: "You must get men of a "spirit: and take it not ill what I say, — I know you "will not, — of a spirit that is likely to go on as far "as gentlemen will go: — or else you will be beaten "still." I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one, (*Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to "unspotted character," "safe courses," &c. &c. A very brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincer-lips, and eyes very vigilant. — Alas, there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, "Here* IS *the America I was telling you of!"*] Truly I told him I could *do* somewhat in it. I did so, — 'did this somewhat:' and truly I must needs say this to you, 'The result was,' — impute it to what you please, — I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; [*The Ironsides; yea!*] and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. [*Yea!*] And truly this is matter of praise to God: — and it hath some instruction in it, To own men who are religious and godly. And so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live within 'rules of' Government, and will be subject to

those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority — [*Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here*] I reckon no Godliness without that circle! Without that spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the depth of Satan's wickedness* — [*Checks himself*] — Why truly I need not say more than to apply all this** 'to the business we have in hand.'

I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon anything; but I must tender this 'my present answer' to you as a thing that sways upon my conscience; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. 'Well;' I tell you there are such men in this Nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. And I deal plainly and faithfully with you, 'when I say:' I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything, 'Kingship or whatever else,' which would, justly and with cause, grieve *them*. True, they may be troubled *without* cause; — and I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humour as that. [*Leaves the matter open still!*] But I say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great things of the Government, namely the Liberty of the People, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest (and I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that) — [*Sentence broken; try it another*

* Not "height of Jotham's wickedness," as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not "wicked" at all (*Judges*, c. 9). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere, — if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369 line 16 of *Somers* with p. 385 line 2.

** "this" of my old proposal to Mr. Hampden; and how good it is to "own men who are religious and godly."

way] — But if I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this Title, — though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to *them*, which they cannot swallow. [*The Young Lady will and she will not!*] If the Nation may be as well provided-for without these things we have been speaking of [*Kingship' &c.*], as, according to my apprehension, it may, — 'then' truly I think it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to David in another case,* "no grief of heart in time coming," that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weakness) to the weakness of those who have integrity and honesty and uprightness, and who are not carried away with the hurries I see some taken with, — ["*A Standard lifted up*," *the other day!* — *We have had to turn the key upon them, in Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere*] — that think their virtue lies in despising Authority, in opposing it! I think you will be the better able to root out of this Nation that 'disobedient' spirit and principle, — and to do so is as desirable as anything in this world, — by complying, indulging, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men who have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cause; — and who *are* faithful, and will oppose all oppositions (I am confident of it) to the things that are Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil and Gospel Liberties. [*Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought!*] — *The moral is:*

* Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel, xxv. 31).

"*As my old Ironsides, men fearing God, proved the suc-*
"*cessful soldiers; so in all things it is men fearing God*
"*that we must get to enlist with us. Without these we*
"*are lost: with these, if they will be soldiers with us*
"*(not noisy mutineers like Wildman, Harrison and Com-*
"*pany, but true soldiers, rational persons that will learn*
"*discipline), — we shall, as heretofore, hope to prevail*
"*against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and*
"'*never be beaten at all*,' *no more than the Ironsides*
"*were. See, therefore, that you do not disaffect* THEM.
"*Mount no foolish cockade or Kingship which can convert*
"THEM, *rational obedient men, true in all essential points,*
"*into mutineers.*"]

I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you — [*Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale, — and the sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started*] — I must confess I would say — I hope I may not be misunderstood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience: — I say I would have it understood, That in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, 'mere dissentient individuals,' and a Parliament, 'as to,' Which shall have their desires. I knew there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way. For the Parliament seems to have given me liberty to say whatever is on my mind to you; as that 'indeed' is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to *them:* and now if I think these objectors to the Kingship* are such 'as I describe,' and 'that they' will be such; 'if I think' that they are faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme Authority, and the Legislative

* "they" in *orig.*

wheresoever it is, — if, I say, I should *not* tell you, knowing their minds to be so, then I should not be faithful. I am bound to tell it you, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. [*Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.*]

I will now say something for *myself*. As for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not 'hitherto clear direction' * — but as I have the Word of God, and I hope shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information and direction; so, truly, if men have been led into dark paths [*As this matter of the Kingship is to me even now; very "dark" and undecidable!*] through the providence and dispensations of God — why surely it is not to be objected to a man! For who can *love* to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence *sinfully*, — yet this must be at a man's own peril. The case may *be* that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say, I have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and though such experience is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases. [*Yes, my brave one!*]

Truly the Providence of God hath laid aside this Title of King providentially *de facto:* and that not by sudden humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by issue of Ten or Twelve Years Civil War,

* Coagulated Jargon (*Somers*, p. 370) is almost worth looking at here: — never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell.

wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion is in the case were it *de novo* to be done. [*Somewhat grim expression of face, your Highness!*] But if it be at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that God in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a Name or Title —! Which *de facto* is 'the case.' It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government I now act in: it was done by the Long Parliament, — that was it.* And God hath seemed Providential, 'seemed to appear as a Povidence,' not only in striking at the Family but at the Name. And, as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an Act of Parliament; it hath been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times,** — he doth farther say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them, — they should "hate even the *garments* spotted with the flesh."***

I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argument to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with the Person and the Family that He blasted the very Title. And you know when a man comes, *a parte post*, to reflect, and see this *done*, this Title laid

* Oliverian reduplication of the phrase: accent on *was*.

** Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II. antea, pp. 216, 7.

*** Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a *new* Grammar. Had all men been *Olivers*, what a different set of *rules* would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have gone upon!

in the dust, — I confess I can come to no other conclusion. ["*But that God seems to have blasted the very Title;*" — *this, however, is felt to need some qualifying.*] The like of this may make a strong impression upon such weak men as I am; — and perhaps upon weaker men (if there be any such) it will make a stronger. I will not seek to set up that which Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; I would not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgment and my conscience. This, in truth, it is this that hath an awe upon my spirit. [*Hear!*] And I must confess, as the times are, — they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay God knows you had need have a great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, you had need look at Settlement! — I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for Settlement of the Nation. For the Nation needs it, never needed it more! And therefore, out of the love and honour I bear you, I am forever bound, whatever becomes of me, to do 'what is best for that;' — 'and' I am forever bound to acknowledge you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one who deserves nothing.

Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose *any* help [*Help of the Name "King;" help of the scrupulous Anti-King people: — it is a dark case*] that may serve you, that may stand in stead to you. I would willingly be a sacrifice [*King, Protector, Constable, or what you like*], that there might be so long as God shall please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony, and better and good under-

standing between all of you. And, — whatever any man may think, — it equally concerns one of us as another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and freely, I would have you lose nothing [*Not even the Scrupulous*] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise, if there be 'found' any of a froward, unmannerly or womanish spirit, — I would not that you should lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who might help in this Work; that any such should be offended by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many 'friends,' and multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in regard to Settlement! And therefore I would not that any, especially any of these who indeed perhaps are men that do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

'I have now no more to say.' The truth is, I did indicate this as my conclusion to you at the first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in.* I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to the safety of your Proposal, as to its tendency to the effectual carrying-on of this Work. [*There are many angry suspicious persons*

* "This was my *second* head of method; all this about myself and my "own feelings in regard to the Kingship, — after I had proved to you in "my first head that it was not *necessary*, that it was only *expedient* or not "*expedient*. I am now therefore got to the end of my second head, to my "conclusion."

listening to me, and every word is liable to different misunderstandings in every different narrow head!] I say, I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that He would direct you to do what is according to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to give of myself in this thing.§

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: "till to-morrow at three o'clock" ** let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to "declare" himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare, — namely, darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerabe question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over; to himself not unimportant, — and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a Man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to "feathers in the hat," of one sort or the other, my erudite friend! — Of all which he gives here a candid and honest account; and indeed his attitude towards this matter is throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very manful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Committee cannot see his Highness; attenting at Whitehall, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health; — are to come again tomorrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Wednesday they come again; "wait for above an hour in the Council-Chamber;" — Highness still indis-

§ Somers Tracts, vi. 365-371. ** Burton, ii. 2.

posed, 'has got a cold:' Come again tomorrow, Thursday! "Which," says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who was there, "did strongly build up the faith of the Contrariants," — He will not dare to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honourable House in the mean while has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch Fifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the *Standard set up*, which seems to be a most incendiary piece; — and painfully adjourn and re-adjourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow business; and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.

Thursday, 16th April 1657, Committee attending for the third time, the Interview does take effect; Six of the Grandees, Glynn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, Fiennes, Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the various objections of his Highness's former Speech, of Monday last, and learnedly rebut the same, in a learned and to us insupportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted. Whitlocke urges on his Highness That, in refusing this Kingship, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament.* Another says, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his duty! — Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the subject, can be read at great length in the distressing pages of *Somers*,** and shall be matter of imagination here. His Highness said, There were weighty arguments; give him till tomorrow to think of them.*** "Tomorrow at three: *spero!*" says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who is not one of the Contrariants.

SPEECH XII.

Alas, tomorrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday ten o'clock, "at the old place," Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. Accordingly, on Monday 20th April 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance,

* Somers, p. 386. ** Ibid. vi. 371-387. *** Burton, ii. 5.

and his Highness speaks, — answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.

'My Lords,'

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your conclusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the subject of various Debates and Conferences between us. I shall not now spend your time nor my own much, in recapitulating those arguments, or giving answers to them. Indeed I think they were 'mainly' but the same we formerly had, only with some additional inforcements by new instances: and truly, at this rate of debate, I might spend your time, which I know is very precious; and unless I were 'to end in being' a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be very unprofitably spent, — so it would. I will say a word or two to that only which I think was new.

'You were pleased to say some things as to the 'power of Parliament, as to the force of a Parliamen-'tary sanction in this matter.'* What comes from the Parliament in the exercise of their Legislative power, as this Proposal does, — I understand this to be an exercise of the *Legislative* power, and the Laws formerly were always passed in this way 'of Proposal or Conference,' and the way of Bills is of a newer date, — I understand that, I say; but — — [*In short, the Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again.*] You said, "that what was done by the Parliament now, "and simply made to hang upon this Legislative "power, 'as any Title but that of King will do,' might "seem partly as if it were a thing *ex dono*, not *de jure*;

* Glynn, Lenthall, Broghill, Whitlocke (*Somers, pp.* 371, 2, 384-6).

"a thing that had not the same weight, nor the same "strength, as if it bore a reference to 'the general "Body of' the Law that is already in being." I confess there is some argument in that, — that is there! But if the degree of strength will be as good without Parliamentary sanction, 'then' — [*Sentence pauses, never gets started again.*] — — Though *it* too, 'this Title of Kingship,' comes as a gift from you! I mean as a thing which you either provide for the people or else it will never come to them; so in a sense it comes from *you*, it is what *they* cannot otherwise arrive at: therefore in a sense it is *ex dono;* for whoever helps a man to what he cannot otherwise attain, doth an act that is very near a gift; and you helping *them* to this Title, it were a kind of gift to them, since otherwise they could not get it 'though theirs' — [*This Sentence also finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.*] — But if you do it simply by your Legislative power — [*Halt again. — In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.*] — The question, "What makes such a thing as this more firm?" is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your 'or another's' doing of it; there remains always the grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the *acceptance* of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience to it and accept it! [*Certainly, your Highness; that is worth all the Law-logic in the world!*] And therefore if a thing [*Like this Protectorate, according to your argument, — not altogether to mine*] hath but, for its root, your Legislative sanction — — If I may put

a "But" to it, 'to that most valid sanction!' I will not do so: for I say, It is as good a foundation as that other, 'which you ascribe to the Kingship, howsoever "grounded in the body of Law."' And if that thing, 'that Protectorate,' be as well accepted, and the other be less well — ? Why, then truly *it*, I shall think, is the better; — and then all that I say is founded upon Law too! —

Your arguments founded upon the Law do all make for the Kingship. Because, say you, it doth agree with the Law; the Law knows, — the People know it, and are likelier to receive satisfaction that way. Those were arguments that have ["*had*" *is truer, but less polite*] been used already; and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore, I say, those arguments also may stand as we found them and left them already; — except, truly, this 'one point.' It hath been said to me [*Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavours to smile in response*] that I am a person who meditate to do what never any that were actually Kings of England did: "Refuse the Advice of Parliament." I confess, that runs deep enough, 'that runs' to all; that may be accounted a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment against me another time, — if my case be not different from any man's that ever was in the Chief Command and Government of these Nations before. But truly I think, all they that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright, — or if owned by the authority of Parliament, they yet had some previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under favour, I think I deserve less blame than any of them

would have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and 'with' the desire of Parliament in regard to it, as these others might do. For they when they were *in*, would have taken it for an injury *not* to be in. Truly such an argument, to *them*, might be very strong, Why they should not refuse what the Parliament offered! But 'as for me,' I have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented with you 'in saying' I have not desired, I have no title to, the Government of these Nations. 'No title,' but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and as a temporary means to meet the actual emergency; without which we must needs — [*Have gone you know whither!*] — I say we had been all 'topsyturvying now' at the rate of the Printed Book 'you have just got hold of' [*Shoreditch* STANDARD SET UP, *and Painted Lion there*], and at the rate of those men that have been seized going into arms, — if that expedient had not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless I undertook it. And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament, — it being 'put' upon me to take the power into my hand after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved — — [*"I took it, as you all know:" but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subject rises, the Sentence explodes*] —! —

Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book: — for the Book, I am told, knows an Author [*Harrison, they say, is Author*]; he was a Leading Person in that Assembly! And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity undertake that 'Business,' which I think no man but myself would

have undertaken, — it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation to this day. And have kept it under a Title [*Protector*] which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another's use, — to a better use; 'a Title' which may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one Title or another, — that have I not! I say it: If the wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this Nation and the Interests of it, — the Interest of the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest men, — for such a character I reckon them by, who live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency 'of Christ' and a Christian course in their life and conversation — [*Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present, but will gather itself together again perhaps!*] I reckon *that* proceeds from Faith, and 'from' looking to our duties towards Christians, and our humanity to men as men; and to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation are of: — and 'I' do look upon that as a standing truth of the Gospel; and whoso lives up to that is a Godly Man in my apprehension! [*Looks somewhat animated.*] — — And therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament, — I speak not this vainly or as a fool, but as to God, — if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty, to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen [*Voice risen into a kind of recitative*], — I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, that things might have run in such a current! [*Your*

Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in the grave! — His Highness fetches a deep breath.] — I say I have no pretentions to things for myself; to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, 'and are already passing:' but I thank God I know where to lay the weight that is laid upon me, — I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [*Ends, I think, in a kind of snort, — and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.*] —

I have not offered you any Name in competition with Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, That he would have a Name which the Laws know not, and which is boundless, and is one under which he may exercise more arbitrariness: but I know there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your thoughts to offer any Name of that kind, I think, whatsoever it was, you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, That no favour should be showed to me; but that the good of these Nations should be consulted; — as 'indeed' I am confident it will be by you in whatsoever you do. — But I may say a word to another thing which doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my duty 'to accept this Title.' I think it can be no man's duty but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities and weakness; 'conscious' that he perhaps is not able to encounter with it, — although he may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do not know what way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or laid upon me as a duty. Except I meant to gripe at the

Government of the Nations without a legal consent, — as I say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity, 'but have no call now to do again.' And I promise I shall think whatever is done towards Settlement, without authority of Parliament, will neither be very honest, nor to me very comprehensible at this stage of the business. I think we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation and for other Interests! — [*Checks himself.*] —

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a 'desultory' way as this. I may be borne withal, because I have not truly well stood the exercise that hath been upon me these three or four days, — I have not, I say. [*Besides your Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I doubt still somewhat feverish!*] — I have told you my thoughts, and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have given you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments that were used when ye were last here; but rather tell you what since (as I say) lies upon my heart, — 'speaking to you' out of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. [*His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and staggering like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles.*] And therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to me, and urged them in such way as did occur to you; and I having told you, the last time we met, that the satisfaction from them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince me of my duty, — I have thought rather to answer today by telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [*Poor Sovereign Man!*] —

And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest to the Nation, — and shall be, by the Grace of God. And I have it *not* in view, upon collateral pretences, 'either by asking this Kingship or by refusing it' — to act towards things that may be destructive to the liberties of this Nation! [*"I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the hands of the potter!"*] — — Any man may give me leave *to die;* every one may give me leave to be as a dead man, — when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that are necessary for the carrying-on of such a work! [*Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold!*]

And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and as we had them; and will let you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper [*Petition and Advice*], the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it, 'unconnected with this of the Kingship.' And considering that there are very many particulars in this Instrument [*Holding it in his hand*], some of a general reference and others specific, and all of weight (let this business of the Title be decided as it may) to the concernment of the Nations, — I think I may desire that those 'particulars' may be really such as will serve their object, — let the 'Title' we *fix* upon be one or the other. They might be such as the People have no cause — [*Sentence checking itself*] — But I am confident your care and faithfulness need neither a spur nor an admonition to that! — I say, reading in your Order, the Order of the Parliament to this Committee, I find mention there of "divers particulars," concerning which, if I do make any scruple of them, I

am to have the freedom with this Committee to cast* my doubts.

The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hands** that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; which, I hope, have a Public aspect in them; therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you. Therefore I shall desire that you will read them. [*Hands Whitlocke the Paper.*] I should desire, if it please you, the liberty, — which I submit to your judgment whether you think I have or no, — that I might tender these few things; and some others which I have in preparation. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can: — they are too large here, 'these in the Paper are diffuse.'*** And if it please you, Tomorrow in the afternoon at three o'clock I may meet you again. And I hope we shall come to know one another's minds; and shall agree to that that may be for the glory of God, and for the good of these Nations.§

So much for Monday the 20th; — noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith *exeunt* till tomorrow at three.

We returned "much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech," says the Writer of *Burton;* it is "as dark and promiscuous as before;" nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the "Contrariants" are up in hope, and sometimes again we,† — and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

* canvass, shake out.

** A Paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; "unhappily altogether lost now," say the Parliamentary History, and the Editor of *Burton*, — not very unhappily, say my readers and I.

*** He gave them the complete Paper *on the morrow* (Burton, ii. 7).

§ Somers, vi. 387-389.

† See Burton, ii. 7 *et seqq.*

Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz! — Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest actions ever fought by land or water; this action of the Sea-king Blake, at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither; arrives there still in time this Monday morning early; finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silver-ships, strong war ships, Sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself, — and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, war-frigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business, runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it, — mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like; — silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the Harbour; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favour, sails out again, leaving Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.* It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruize of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth.**

* Heath's Chronicle, pp. 720, 1.

** 7th August 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (Biog. Brit. in voce).

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness a rough enemy. In these same April days, Six-thousand men are getting mustered here, "furnished with new red coats" and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,* to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings. — But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet to-morrow again, Tuesday 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII.

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the "essentials" of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of *Burton's Diary*, Nathaniel Bacon or another, is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his Highness. "Nothing but a dark speech," says he,** "more promiscuous than before!" — A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable pass we now stand in; — explains next what are the *essential* elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying us farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash; — and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to these essential

* Signed 23d March 1656-7 (Godwin, iv. 540).
** Burton, ii. 7.

things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-judged!), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and such-like frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren, — to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do. — Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.

My Lords,

I think you may well remember what the issue was of the last Conference I had with you 'yesterday,' and what the stick* then was. I confess I took liberty 'at that time,' from the Order of Parliament; whereby they gave me power to speak with you about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you have been pleased to speak with me 'upon;' that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether there will a good issue be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands of God. That is a great secret; — and secrets belong to God. To us belong things revealed; — and such things are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours: and 'the course is,' so far as they may have relation to me, That you and I shall consider what may be for the public good 'therein,' that so they may receive such an impression** as can humanly be given them.

I would be well understood in that I say, The former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title; and that rests as it did. But seeing, as I said before, your Order of Commitment, 'your Order to Committees,' doth as well reach to the particulars con-

* stop. ** impulse and decision.

tained in the Instrument 'generally' as to that of the Title, — I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about *them* also. That so we may come to an understanding one with another, not What the things in their parts are, but What is in the whole conduceable to that end we ought all to aim at, — which is a general Settlement upon good foundations.

Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself when they did me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-House, so I may now say to you who are a Committee, a very considerable representation of the Parliament: I am hugely taken with the word *Settlement;* with the thing, and with the notion of it. 'And indeed' I think he is not worthy to live in England who is not! No; I will do my part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out of the Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a Settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a Nation to be without such: it is like a house (and so much worse than a "house") divided against itself; it "cannot stand" without Settlement! — And therefore I hope, so far, we are all at a good point; and the spirit of the Nation, I hope, in the generality of it, is so far at a good point: we are all contending for a Settlement. That is sure. But the question is, *De modo*, and Of those things 'and conditions' that will make it a good Settlement if possible. It's no fault to aim at perfection in Settlement! And truly I have said, and I say it again: That I think this 'present proposed Form of Settlement' doth tend to the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have 'all along' declared for; and I would come upon that issue with all men, or with any man. The things we have declared

for, which have been the ground of our quarrelling and fighting all along, — the securing of these is what will accomplish the general work. Settlement is the general work. That which will give to the Nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties; that which will conserve the liberties of every man, and not rob any man of what is justly his! I think these two things make up Settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having endeavoured, as we have done, through some streamings of blood, to attain that end.

I may tell you my 'own' experience in this business, and offend no good man who loves the Public before what is personal. Truly I shall, a little, shortly recapitulate to you what my observations and endeavours and interest have been to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested in transactions all along* will blame me. And he shall have no cause to blame me: because I will take myself into the number of the Culpable Persons (if there be any such), — though perhaps apt enough, from the self-love I have, to be willing to be 'reckoned' innocent where I am so! And yet as willing withal to take my reproach, if anybody will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly I have, through the Providence of God, endeavoured to discharge a poor duty; having had, as I conceive, a clear call to the stations I have acted in through all these affairs; — and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about saying anything to clear it to you; [*No, your Highness, let it stand on its own feet*] — but must exercise myself in a little short Chronology. To come to that 'issue,' [*Not the "Chronology," but what the Chronology will help*

* Not polite to add, "as I have been."

to teach us!] I say, is really all our business at present; and the business of thisNation: To come upon, clear grounds; To consider the Providence of God how He hath led us hitherunto.

After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this Nation; a final end; which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God, — for other War, we have had none that deserves the name of War, since that time, which is now six years gone September 'last;' — I came up to the Parliament that then was. And truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very 'well' disposed to put a good issue to all those Transactions which had been in the Nation: and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs, having been near ten years in the Field; yet, in my poor measure, my desires did tend to the same issue; believing verily that all the blood which had been shed, and all the distemper which God had suffered to be among us, which in some sense God had raised among us, — 'believing, I say,' that surely Fighting was not the *end*, but the *means*, which had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that men might come to some consistencies. And to that end I did endeavour to add my mite, — which was no more than the interest any one member there might have, — after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did, — I shall tell you no fable, but things 'of' which divers persons here can tell whether they be true or no, [*Threatening to blaze up again?*] — I did endeavour it. I would make the best interpretation of all that: but

yet it is a truth, and nothing of a discovery on my part, but a fact which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, having done these memorable things — [*Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parliament; preparatory to* EXECUTION] — They had done things of honour, and things of necessity; things which, if at this day you have any judgment that there lieth a possibility upon you to do any good, and to bring this Nation to any foot of Settlement, I may say you are all along, in a good manner, beholden to that Parliament 'for.' But yet truly as men who contend for the Public Interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them. And truly, when they had made preparations which might have led to the issuing in some good for the Settlement of these Nations, in point of liberty, in point of freedom from tyranny and oppression and from hazard of our religion, — To throw it all away upon men who designed by innovations to introduce Popery, and by complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon a Civil account — [*"Royalist Malignants, in "1647, 1648, and Crypto-Royalists; with their 'notions' "that of all things indispensable, a Stuart King was in- "dispensablest? That would never have done! The Long "Parliament did need a Pride's Purge; could not" — But the Sentence here, in its hasty impatience, as is usual, bursts*] — Why they had more enemies than friends, 'that Long Parliament had;' they had so all along! And this made them careful, [*In* 1648, *trying to bargain with Charles, they were "full of care;" and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!*] — upon

principles of Nature, which do sometimes suggest the best. And upon the most undeniable grounds, they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle 'in common' with them to accomplish the end *they* had aimed at. [*In short*, *they*, *very properly*, *decided on sitting still for a while.*]

I grant, perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves; to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act.* An Act which was justly enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the King. But though, truly, it was good in the first obtaining of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! Which was certainly the true way of doing, — in subserviency to the bringing-in of what might be a good and honest Settlement to the Nation. — I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon *all*, for perhaps some were not so; — I can say it of some. The sober men whom I had converse with, were not for continuing; but the major part, I think, did overrule in-that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you: I was entreated to comply with the plan, and advised to it; and it was to have been accomplished by this medium, 'They were' to have sent into the country to have got their number reinforced, and the Parliament filled up by new elec-

* Act, 10th May 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise, — not even money could be had otherwise (Antea, vol. i. p. 116).

tions. And it had this excuse, That it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against a *succession* of men coming into rule and government; because as men died out of the House, so they should be supplied again. [*Like Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of the Rump*] And this was the best answer they could give to all objections, 'this,' "That the proper "way to govern is to have *successive* men in such great "bodies as Parliaments; to have men learning to know "how to obey as well as how to govern."* And truly the expedient they then offered was what I tell you.

The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor men, [*Certain insignificant individuals, — mentioned elsewhere by the same name!*] who thought they had ventured their lives, and had some interest to inquire after these things! And the rather, because really they had been invited out, 'first of all, into this War,' upon principles of honesty, conscience and religion; "for Spiritual Liberties;" as many as would come. 'Yes,' when the Cause was a little doubtful, there had issued forth a Declaration 'of that purport,' which was very inviting; and men did come in 'and enlist' upon that invitation; — and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men who had wives and children in the Nation, and 'who' therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what would be the Issue of the Business! [*They told us always, We were Soldiers, sworn as our first duty to obey; but we answered*

* The "Rota Club" (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120, § Harrington) had not started in 1653; but this doctrine, it would seem, was already afloat; — not much patronised by his Highness at any time.

(*and it was intrinsicallr a fact*), *We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!*]

And when this thing was thus pressed, and perhaps overpressed 'by us,' That a period might be put, and some ascertainment made, and a time fixed, — why then truly the extreme ran another way. '*Parliament would not go at all*, that had been the one extreme; *Parliament shall go straightway*, that was now the other.' This is very true that I tell you; although it shame me. 'Extremes give rise to their opposite extremes; and are honourable to nobody!' I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind; but truly when this was urged, they on their side did fall into another extreme. And what was that? Why truly then it was: Seeing this Parliament could not be perpetual, yet *a* Parliament might always be sitting. And to that end there was a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; that as soon as one Parliament went out of place, another might leap in.* When we saw this, truly we thought it did but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the thing! — However, it was pursued with such heat 'in the House,' I dare say there was more progress in it in a month than had ever been with the

* This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good "Issue of the Business." It leads almost infallibly to "arbitrariness," argues his Highness (Speech III., antea, Vol. III. p. 246), leads to &c. &c. — in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to "Nothing," to Self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats); and peaceable *Zero*. Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that "a Parliament always sitting" was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been fighting for.

like business in four; 'so eager were they' to hasten it to an issue, to get such a Parliament brought in: — to bring the state of the Nation into this, *A continual sitting of Parliament.*

We did think, who were plain men, and I do think it still, That that had been, according to the old foolish proverb, "out of the frying-pan into the fire!" For, looking at the Government you would then have had, it was 'still' a 'Commonwealth's' Government. [*Not entirely the Ideal of a Government, your Highness thinks?*] Why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of Four-hundred men, executing arbitrary government [*As the Long Parliament did*] without intermission, except some change of a part of them; one Parliament stepping into the seat of another, just left warm for them; the same day that the one left, the other was to leap in! — Truly I did think, and I do think, however much some are enamoured with that kind of Government — [*Style getting hasty; hot; the Sentence breaks*] — — Why it was no more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take 'all' upon them, and be instead of the Courts at Westminster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that arbitrariness of Committees? Where a man can neither come to prove nor to defend, — nor to know his judges; because there are one set of men who judge him today, and another set of men tomorrow! Thus was to have been the Law of England; and thus was to have been the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that it was an ill way of "judging." For I may say to you, with truth in regard to that, After it pleased God, your poor Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither,

— it did prove so. An outcry here in this place, 'then an outcry there in that,' to get some cause determined and judged. [*The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings, and Babel outbabbled!*] And Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Committees 'set' to determine all things. And without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man travel with never such right or never such wrong, he must come, — and he must go back again, as wise as he came. This truly was the case [*Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester, and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance here!*], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, Take all that was in the practices there, — [*Better not, your Highness!*] — I am sorry to tell the story of it! — Though there was indeed some necessity for such a thing. A necessity for some Committees to look to Indemnity, 'and such like;' but no necessity for Committees instead of Courts of Justice! However, so it was; and this was the case of the People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the *Three* Estates that were before. It had so assumed that authority: and if any man had come and said, "What rules do "you judge by?" — "Why, we have none! We are supreme, 'we,' in Legislature and in Judicature!" —

Such was the state of the case. And I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, 'this that they proposed.' [*This of a Perpetual Parliament,* NEW-DARNED, *like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings: — a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darned, if you make it the exclusive*

one!] And it will always be so when and whensoever a Perpetual Legislative is exercised; where the Legislative and Executive Powers are always the same. — Truly I think the Legislature might almost as well be in the Four Courts of Westminster Hall! If they could make Laws and judges too, you would have excellent Laws; and the Lawyers would be able to give excellent counsel! And so it was then. This was our condition, without scruple or doubt; and I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty that we might have a Settlement. And there is our "Settlement;" that is what they propose for a Settlement! —

It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own body or of any else, to choose a certain number of men [*The Puritan Notables; ah yes!*] to settle the Nation: "This," said we, "is unsettlement, this is confusion!" For give me leave, if any body now have the face to say, — and I would die upon this — [*Sentence catching fire*] — if any man in England have the impudence [*Ah!*] or face to say, That the reluctance of the Parliament to dissolve themselves was their fear of hasty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and of the Nation, into the hands of a bare Representative of the People, — which was then the business *we* opposed: if any man have the face to say this *now*, who did *then* judge it, 'that last measure of theirs,' and I will say more, ought then to have judged it, to be a confounding of the whole Cause we had fought for, — which it was, — I would look upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a man!* I do not say

* A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery counte-

there is any such here: but if any such should come to me, see if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare die for it, 'he is an hypocrite;"— knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not? — "Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government." — Why, what is it you want me to do? — "Pray, turn those Gentlemen 'of the Long Parliament' all in again; then we will like you exceedingly well!" — [*Inarticulate interjection; snort or "Humph!"*] — I was [a child] in swaddling clouts!* I cannot go beyond the Instrument of Government. I cannot do anything but in coördination with the Council. They fear, 'these objectors,' "arbitrary government" by *me* in that way; but if arbitrary government were restored to be general 'by reinstatement of the Long Parliament, then they are not afraid of it! Such things as these are, such hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath truth or honesty in him? — —

Truly that was our case: — and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons who had loved this Cause, and the liberties of

nance of yours! — His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted coagulum of jargon which the Original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers himself to be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: "They were afraid to fling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:" — *They?* while *we* opposed that; and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story like this!

* So tied up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do "arbitrary government."

England, and the interest of England: and we told them we would acquiesce, and lie at *their* 'the Worthy Persons's' feet; but that to be thrown into Parliaments which should sit perpetually, though but for three years 'each,' we had experience of that! An experience which may remain to this day, to give satisfaction to honest and sober men! — Why, truly this might have satisfied, this proposal of ours; but it did not. And therefore we did think that it was the greatest of dangers, 'thus' to be overwhelmed, and brought under a slavery by our own consent, and "Iniquity to become a Law."* And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected their Bill for perpetuating of Parliaments to the last Clause; [*Hear!*] and were resolved to pass it as a Bill in Paper, 'not even engrossed on Parchment as the wont was,' rather than comply with any expedient. [*We then entered upon them; bade them with emphasis, Go about their business! That's no lie!*] — If your own experience add anything to you in this, 'if you ever 'individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Com-'mittee, and know its ways,' — in this point, "Whether "or no, in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament "assume an absolute power, without any control, to "determine the interests of men in property and liberty; "whether or no *this* be desirable in a Nation?" — if

* "The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a *Law*" (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfullest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days, — if Dryasdust and the general course of *new* Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law is Equity, and the mere want of "Law," with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written-over in bad English, is Iniquity. — O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in, — or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a stirred Prize-Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

you have any sense, ["*General openness of perception;*" *not exactly our modern word; but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees*: "*any sense*"] — as I believe you have, — you have more than I, — — 'then' I think you will take it for a mercy that *that* did not befall England at that time! And that is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. [*The little Parliament.*] And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and through some of my companions — ["*May dislike my mentioning the story?*" — *The Sentence, in its haste, has no time to* END.] — And truly this is a story that should not be recorded, that should not be told, except when good use may be made of it. I say, It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon that account; — 'it was thought,' "Why surely these men will hit it, and these "men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired!" And truly we did think, and I did think so, — the more blame to me. And such a Company of Men were chosen; [*The little Parliament; — Convention of the Puritan Notables*] and did proceed to action. And truly this was the naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. [*Poor Puritan Notables!*

What the issue of that Meeting would have been 'seemed questionable,' and was feared: upon which the sober men of that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned my power as far as they could, — they did actually the greater part of them, — into my hands; professing and believing that the issue of that

Meeting would have been The subversion of your Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the destruction of the Ministers of this Nation; in a word, the confusion of all things. 'Confusion of all things!' To set up, instead of Order, the Judicial Law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations; to have had administered the Judicial Law of Moses *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text this way or that —! — And if you do not believe that these Persons, thereupon sent home,' were sent home by the major part 'of themselves,' who were judicious and sober and learned (the minority being the worser part upon this account, and with my consent *a parte post*, — you will believe nothing! [*Somewhat tart.*] For the persons that led in that Meeting were Mr. Feak and his assemblage in Blackfriars. [*We know "Feak," and other foul chimneys on fire, from of old! — As for "Mr. Squib," he sits now with Venner and the Fifth-Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.*] 'Mr. Feak,' Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House 'of Parliament' day by day. And this was so *de facto*; I know it to be true. And that such must naturally be the product of it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other day ["*Standard set up*"], That all Magistracy and Ministry is Antichristian, wherefore all these things ought to be abolished. Which we are certain must have been the issue of that Meeting. [*A failure, that poor Convention of the Puritan Notables!*]

So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from two evils. The *one*, a secular evil, which would

have swallowed up all religious and civil interest, and brought us under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world: To have had Five or Six hundred "Friends,"* with *their* friends, 'the Feaks, &c.,' entrusted with the judgment of all causes, and to judge of them without rule; thinking that "the Power which swallowed up all other Lawful Powers in the Nation" hath all the power *they* ever had, both Legislative and Judiciary! In short, a thing which would have swallowed both the Civil and Religious Interest. And the *other* evil — [*His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them another stir*] — merely under a Spiritual Interest, would have swallowed up all again in another extreme, — 'no stated Ministry being allowed.' All our Civil and Religious Interest; and had made our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to God for, 'of no account!' Truly we think we ought to value *this* Interest above all the interests in the world: but if this latter had not as surely been destroyed as the former, I understand nothing. —

And having told you these two things, 'two Failures in getting Settlement' — truly it makes me in love with this Paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions I have now to tender you thereto; and with *Settlement* above all things in the world! — Except 'only' that, where I left you last time; ["*The Kingship!*" *Committee of Ninety-nine look alert*] — for that, I think, we have debated. [*Look dampish again.*] I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine 'as

* The name of Quakers already budding in 1653, — now, in 1657, budded and blown.

to that;' I have told you my heart and judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [*His Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.*]

I think we are now to consider, not what we are in regard to our Footing and that of the Government which called this Parliament. [*No: our First foolish Parliament spent all their time on that; not you, my wiser Friends.*] Our Footing and Government is, till there be an end put to it, — that that hath existence! [*What other definition of it can be given, or need?*] And so I shall say nothing to *it*. If it accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed ends and aims that we should aim at; if it do, — I would we might keep it, and remain where we are. If it do not, I would we might have a better! — Which* truly I do come out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it, — if I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may! — I say, the things that are provided for in this 'Act of' Government [*Handling the Vellum*] do secure the Liberties of the People of God so as they never before had them! And he must be a pitiful man who thinks the People of God ever had the like Liberty either *de facto* or *de jure;* — *de jure* from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still, — but asserted by a *jus humanum*, I say, they never had it so as they have it now. I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God, and 'for the Liberty' of the Nation. And I say he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt those two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, like wisdom and

* Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means "On which hint."

ignorance, to think they are *in*consistent. Certainly they may consist! And, I speak my conscience of this 'Act of' Government, I think you have made them to consist.

And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, you have provided well, — that you have. And because I see the Rule of the Parliament, 'your written Order here,' gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars (I judge the Parliament doth think that any Member it has is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good), — therefore, I having a little surveyed the Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account. [*Handles a Paper of his own.*] And truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case as this, where so new a work and so strange a work as this is before you, it will not be thought ill [*Not at all, your Highness, — only get on!*] if I do with a little earnestness press you for some explanations in some things. 'A few explanations' that may help to complete the business, and leave me — (for it is only handled with *me* 'and for *my* behoof' at this time, not with you and the Parliament whom you represent): — I say, I would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, without excuse; as well as glad that you should settle this Nation to the uttermost advantage for it; — in all the things I have to offer you. They are not very weighty; they may tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you.

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of,* that they also may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

* Whitlocke, p. 648 *et seqq.*; Parliamentary History, xxi. 129 *et seqq.*

"*Article Fourth* of the Petition and Advice is taken up with "describing who are to be Electors to Parliament, and Eli- "gibles, — or rather who not; for it is understood that, except "the classes of persons here specified, all who had such a pri- "vilege by the old Laws are still entitled to vote and to be "voted for.

"The Classes excluded from elected or being elected are "the following:

"1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ire- "land; or who, with or without concern in said Rebellion, are "or shall become Papists. — All who have advised, abetted or "assisted in any War against the Parliament since the First "of January 1641-2, — unless they have since given signal "proofs of repentance, by bearing arms *for* the Parliament, — "or in some other 'signal' manner, difficult to define. The "defining of which has occasioned great debates in Parlia- "ment.* This excludes all the English and other Malignants. "— All who have ever been engaged in any Plot against the "Person of his Highness; or, apart from that, have been en- "gaged in any Insurrection in England or Wales 'since 16th "December 1653,' beginning of the Protectorate.

"2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the "Parliament of England or the Parliament of Scotland before "the First of April 1648. This excludes the Montrose Party "and Royalists Proper of Scotland, — except such as have "given 'signal' &c. But then follows this clause in favour of "the Hamilton Engagers, and the Dunbar and Worcester "people, which attracts his Highness's animadversion in the "present Discourse: 'Nor any' (shall elect or be elected) 'who "*since* the First of April 1648 have been in arms, or otherwise "aided, abetted' &c. (which excludes all the Preston, and all "the Dunbar and Worcester people; with, however, a most "*important* exception) — 'except such as since the First day of "March 1651-2 have *lived peaceably*,' — as they might *all* very "well do, having been all smashed to powder, six months be-

* Burton's Diary.

"fore, at Worcester Fight, and their 'Chief Malignant,' whom "they had set up as King, being now sent on his travels, some-"what in the style of a King of the Gipsies!" His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one "proviso for Ireland" to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns, — nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second of Article Fourth:]

In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have something that respects the calling of Members to Parliament 'for Scotland.' You would not have those excluded that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that Invasion.* Because it hath been said to you, perhaps, that if you should exclude all 'such,' you would have no Members from that Nation? I hope there be persons of that Nation who will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than admit that argument! And I hope it is no argument: but if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least certainty as to qualifications, you should indeed exclude men of your own country upon better 'defined' crimes; you should hold them off upon stricter characters 'than those given!' It is thought, the qualification there which saith, of their "good testimony," That they are to be men who have given good testimony by their quiet living — Why, truly, for divers years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise, than to live

* Which met its due at Preston.

quietly! [*Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness!*] Though perhaps 'at bottom' many of them have been the same men: — and yet 'certainly too' I know many of them are good men, worthy men. — And therefore whether it be not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther, and put some other character* upon what may really be regarded as "a good testimony" of their *being* otherwise minded, of their *being* now of another judgment? I confess I have not anything here to supply this defect with: but certainly if the description so stand as it now is in your Article, — those men, though they be never so indisposed, enemies and remain so, yet if they have "lived peaceably," where they could neither will nor choose 'to live otherwise,' they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it; and when done, I shall leave it all with yourselves. This is for the Second Paragraph.

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is 'without any amendment' of his own; offers us nothing to 'supply the defect:' indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph Second remains *un*altered. — And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third:

"*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Third: A proviso as to Ireland, "'that no English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before "the First of March 1649-50' (just about the time his now "Highness, then Lord General, was quitting Ireland, having "entirely demolished all chance of opposition there) 'have "borne arms *for* the Parliament or your Highness, or other- "wise given signal testimony' &c. 'shall be excluded.'" This also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

* description.

In the Third Paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said, "That all persons in Ireland be "made capable to elect or to be elected who, before "the First of March 1649, have borne arms for the "Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their "good affections to the Parliament and continued faith-"ful *to the Parliament:*" — and yet perhaps many of them are since revolted 'against us!' — Whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? For it seems to capacitate all those who revolted from the Parliament;* if they have borne arms for the State before the First of March 1649, it seems to restore them. But if *since* then they have revolted, as I doubt many of our English-Irish have done, why then the question is, Whether those men who lately** have been angry and have flown to arms; Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side shall be an exemption to them? This is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give an answer unto?

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: "Signal testimony of their good affection to the *Commonwealth* "*or your Highness, and continued*" *&c.* — And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:

"*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Fifth. All who are atheistical, "blasphemous, 'married to Popish wives,' who train or shall "train any child to be Popish, or consent that a son or daugh-"ter of theirs shall marry a Papist; — who are scoffers of reli-"gion, or can be proved to have scoffed any one for being "religious; who deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who "deny Sacraments, Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances

* The Ormond Royalists almost all; — Malignant enough many of them.

** in late years.

"of God (Harrison's set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, "haunters of taverns or alehouses; — in short demonstrably "unchristian men. All who are Public Preachers too." Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

"Following in the rear of which, in the same Fifth Para-"graph, is a new Item which still more deserves consideration. "For securing the 'Freedom of Parliament' as well as its "Purity, there are to be Forty-one Commissioners appointed "'by Act of Parliament with your Highness's consent,' who "are to examine and certify whether the Persons returned by "these rules are, after all, qualified to sit." — So that it is not to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by 'Nathaniel Tayler, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery,' with his *Certificate* in the Lobby, that Honourable Gentlemen are to be turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact *Protests*, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also will have a word to say.]

In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. And truly I think your intention is 'of' such 'only' as have Pastoral Function; such as are actually real Ministers. For I must say to you, in behalf of our Army, — in the next place to their fighting, they have been very good "Preachers:" and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to "preach" to their troops, companies and regiments: — which I think has been one of the blessings upon them to the carrying-on of the great Work. I think you do not mean so 'that they should be excluded:' but I tender it to you that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, who have been a little guilty of that, who

would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament 'on account of it!' ["*I myself have been known, "on occasion, to exhort my troops with Bible texts and "considerations; to 'preach,' if you like to call it so! "What has my whole Life been but a 'Sermon' of some "emphasis; preached with tongue and sword, with head "and heart and right hand, and soul and body and "breeches-pocket, — not without results, one would venture "to hope!" — This Clause, the Committee, expressly or tacitly, ▬ill modify as desired.*]

In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nominating of Commissioners to *try* the Members who are chosen to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will be always good men; — but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides we think, — truly, if you will give us leave to help as to the "freedom of Parliament," this 'of the Commissioners' will be something that may go rather harshly down than otherwise! Very many reasons might be given; but I do only tender it to you. I think, if there were *no* Commissioners, it might be never a whit the worse: — if you make qualifications 'for Membership,' and any man presume to sit without those qualifications, you may deal with him. A man without qualifications, sitting there, is as if he were not chosen; and if he sit without being *chosen*, without having qualification, — I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower, [*That ▬ill settle him!*] to imprison such a one! If any sit there that have not right to sit, — if any stranger come in upon a pretended title of *election*, perhaps it is a different case, — but if any sit there upon a pre-

tence of *qualification* in him, you may send *him* to prison without more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, is parliamentary business: — I do but hint it to you. I believe, If any man had sat in former Parliaments without, 'for instance,' taking the oaths &c. that were prescribed, it would have been fault enough in him. I believe something of that kind, 'instead of your Forty-one Commissioners,' might be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

[The Honourable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his *Certificates*. This Paragraph remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left &c., and rigorous enough formalities. — Let us now glance at Article Fifth:

"*Article Fifth* relates to the 'Other House;' a new House of "Lords we are getting up. Not more than Seventy of them, "not fewer than Forty: they are to be nominated by our High-"ness and approved by this House: all classes excluded by the "preceding Article from our body are of course excluded from "theirs." His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [*Yes*], which concerns the Nomination of the Other House, — in the beginning of that Article it stands, That the House is to be nominated as you there design it,* and the approbation is to be from This House, — I would say, from the Parliament. It stands so. But then now, if any shall be subsequently named, after the Other House *is sat*, upon any accidental removal or death, — you do not say 'How.' Though it seems to refer to the same 'rule' as the first 'original' selec-

* "as you there design it;" polite for "by me."

tion doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate this, That the nomination shall be, where it was, with the Chief Officer,* and the approbation of the "Other House." If I do express clearly what you — Pardon me: but I think that is the aim of it; and it is not clearly expressed there; — as I think you will be able to judge whether it be or no.

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh:

"*Article Seventh* promises, but does not say how, that there "shall be a yearly Revenue of 1,300,000*l.*; one million for Navy "and Army, 300,000*l.* for the support of the Government. No "part of it by a Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be "granted by the Commons in Parliament, — and neither this "Revenue nor any other charge whatever to be laid upon the "subject except according to the Parliament's direction and "sanction." Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

In the Seventh Article, which concerns the Revenue, that is, the Revenue which you have appointed for the Government; wherein you have distributed Three-hundred-thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil Authority, and One-million to the maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land: — you have indeed in your Instrument said so, 'that there shall be such a Revenue,' and we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it certain; nor yet those "temporary supplies" which are intended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is desired, That you will take this into your thoughts, and make the general

* Cannot say "me."

and temporary allowances of Revenue *certain*, both as to the sum and to the times those "supplies" are to be continued. [*Let us know what ground we stand on.*] And truly I hope I do not curry favour with you: but another thing is desired, and I may very reasonably desire it, That these moneys, whatever they are; — that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest in this business,* as lieth at His disposal; — that these moneys, 'I say,' may *not* be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council. You have made in your Instrument a coördination 'of Council and Chief Magistrate' in general terms: 'but I could wish' that this might be a specified thing, That the moneys were not to be distributed 'except by authority of both.' It will be a safety to whosoever is your Supreme Magistrate, as well as a security to the Public, That the moneys be issued out by advice of the Council, and that the Treasurers who receive these moneys be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves; — 'that' every new Parliament, the Treasurer be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasury.

["*Article Ninth:* Judges, Principal Officers of State, Commanders-in-chief by Sea or Land, all chief Officers civil and military, 'are to be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament.'"]

There is mention made of the Judges in your Ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament. But now if there be no Parliament sitting, should there be never so great a loss of Judges, it

* If I live, and continue to govern.

cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parliament, it should be by the choice — [*Omit "of the Chief Magistrate," or politely mumble it into indistinctness*], — with the consent of the Council; to be *afterwards* approved by Parliament?

[Certainly, your Highness; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled. — And now for Article Twelfth:

"*Article Twelfth* (Let us still call it Article *Twelfth*, though "in the ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked *Thir-* "*teenth*): — Classes of persons incapable of holding any office. "Same, I think, as those excluded from elections, — only there "is no penalty annexed. His Highness makes some remarks "upon this, under the Title of 'Article Twelfth;" — a new "article introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands, "which is now Article Twelfth,* has probably pushed this "into the Thirteenth place."]

The Twelfth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, who are put into places of Public Office and Trust. [*Treats all of* DISqualifications, *your Highness*; *which*, *however*, *comes to the same thing.*] Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are not so qualified, 'I do not see but hereby still' they may execute them. "Office of Trust" is a very large word; it goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether; — it goeth far. Now if any shall come-in who are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule: — and whether you will not think in this case that if any shall take upon him an Office of Trust, there shall not some *Penalty* be put upon him, where he is excepted by the general rule? Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter men from accepting Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to that Article?

* Whitlocke, p. 659.

[Nothing done in this. The "Penalty," vague in outline but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued-for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

"*Article Thirteenth* suddenly provides that your Highness "will be pleased to consent that 'Nothing in this Petition and "Advice, or the assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to "— the dissolving of this present Parliament!'" — "Oh, no!" answers his Highness in a kind of bantering way; "not in the least!"]

The next 'Article' is fetched, in some respects, I may say, by head and shoulders into your Instrument! Yet in some sense it hath an affinity 'with the rest, too;' I may say, I think it is within your general scope* upon this account; — 'yes,' I am sure of it: There is mention made in the last parts of your Instrument [*Looking in the Paper; Article Eighteenth*] of your purpose to do many good things: — I am confident, *not* like the gentleman who made his last will, and set down a great number of names of men who were to receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end! ["*You cannot do these 'many good "things' if I dissolve you! That will be a Will, with "many beneficiary legatees, and no sum mentioned at the "end!" His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look; — to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.*]

I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in these things at the latter end; and I should wrong my own conscience if I thought otherwise. I hope you *will* think sincerely, as before God, "That the Laws be regulated!"** I hope you will. We have been often talking of them: — and I remember well, at the

* "order" *in orig.*

** One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteenth).

old Parliament [*Whitlocke and Glynn look intelligence*], we were three months, and could not get over the word "Incumbrances" [*Hum-m-m!*]: and we thought there was little hope of "regulating the Law" where there was such difficulty as to that. But surely the Laws need to be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it were a sacrifice acceptable to God, upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one of the things that God looks for, and would have. [*Alas, your Highness!*] — I confess, if any man should ask me, "Why, how would you have it done?" I confess I do not know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays in Suits, and the Excessiveness in Fees, and the Costliness of Suits, and those various things which I do not know what names they bear — I heard talk of "Demurrers" and such-like things, which I scarce know — [*Sentence is wrecked*]! — But I say certainly, The people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of settlement, whatever be the issue of it, if it come, which I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please God; — 'then,' by a sacrifice 'to God' in it, or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that *this* will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in this. ["*Reforming of the Law!*" *Alas, your Highness!*] —

'Another thing' that — truly I say that it is not in your Instrument — [*Nothing said of it there, which partly embarrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small Digression*]! — Somewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners, — you will pardon me! — My Fellow Soldiers 'the Major-Generals,' who were raised-up upon that just occasion of the Insurrection, not only

"to secure the Peace of the Nation," but to see that persons who were least likely to help-on "peace" or to continue it, but rather to break it — [" *These Major-Generals, I say, did look after the restraining of such persons; suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, sinful roysterings; took some charge of* 'REFORMATION OF MANNERS,' *they:" — but his Highness is off elsewhither, excited by this 'tickle subject,' and the Sentence has evaporated*] — Dissolute loose persons that can go up and down from house to house, — and they are Gentlemen's sons who have nothing to live on, and cannot be supplied with means of living to the profit of the Commonwealth: these I think had a good course taken with them. [*Ordered to fly-away their game-cocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings; fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could, — and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational man any trouble with them which could be avoided!*] And I think what was done to them was honourably and honestly and profitably done. And, for my part, I must needs say, It* showed the dissoluteness which was then in the Nation; — as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform the Nation; to prevent, perhaps, abuses which will not fall under *this* head alone —! [*Not under Reformation of* MANNERS *alone: what will the consequence be?*]

We send our children into France before they know God or Good Manners;** and they return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order

* The course taken with them, the quantity of coercion they needed, and of complaint made thereupon, are all loosely included in this "It."

** Morals.

when they come home! Indeed this makes the Nation not only commit those abominable things, most inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things; — as the Apostle saith, "Not only to do wickedly themselves, but to take pleasure in them that do so." And truly, if something be not done in this kind, 'in the way of reforming public morals,' without sparing that condition of men, without sparing men's sons, though they be Noblemen's sons —! [*Sentence breaks down*] — Let them be who they may that are deboist, it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would much bless God to see something done in that matter heartily, not only as to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation; that some course might be taken for Reformation; that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as this is! And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, they especially, and the Gentry, would have cause to bless you. And likewise that some care might be taken that those good Laws already made for punishing of vice might be put in execution.

This I must needs say of our Major Generals who did that service: I think it was an excellent good thing; — I profess I do! [*Yes; though there were great outcries about it.*] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you 'to consider,' that though we may have good Laws against the common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is to execute them 'now, the Major-Generals being off?' Really a Justice of the Peace, — he shall by the most be wondered at as

an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things! [*Cannot do it; not he.*] And therefore I hope I may represent this to you as a thing worthy your consideration, that something may be found out to repress such evils. I am persuaded you would glorify God by this as much as by any one thing you could do. And therefore I hope you will pardon me.

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. *Article Fifteenth* in his Highness's copy of the Paper, as we understand, must have provided, "That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament:" but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire that 'no part of' "the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament." I doubt "Public Revenue" is like "*Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*;" a notion only; and not to be *found* that I know of! [*It is all alienated; Crown Lands &c. are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth as the "Keepers of the* LIBERTY *of England" were — a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!*] But if there be any, — and if God bless us in our Settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing, — the point is, Whether you will subject this to any alienation without consent of Parliament?

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are *hatched*, we will speak of selling them! — Let us now read Article Sixteenth:

"*Article Sixteenth*," in his Highness's copy of the Paper,

"provides that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is "not contrary to this Petition and Advice, shall be in the least "made void hereby." — His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct; a somewhat vague foundation for Church-Land Estates (for example), which men purchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament. — A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law-vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

Truly this thing that I have now farther to offer you, — it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and Ordinances which have been made since the late Troubles, and during the time of them, 'kept unabrogated;' that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice,* — that they should remain in force, in such manner as if this Advice had not been given. Why, what is doubted is, Whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition?** Because it is but an implication 'that you here make;' it is not determined. You do pass-by the thing, without such a foundation as will keep those people, who are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that their titles be not questioned or shaken, — if the matter be not explained. Truly I believe you intend very fully in regard to this 'of keeping men safe who have purchased on that footing.' If the words already 'used' do not suffice — That I submit to your own advisement.

But there is in this another very great considera-

* *Petition* and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the name.

** It was long debated; see *Burton*.

tion. There have been, since the present Government 'began,' several Acts and Ordinances, which have been made by the exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since we undertook this Government: [*Very cumbrous phraseology, your Highness for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some, whether one* CAN *make Acts and Ordinances by a mere Council and Protector!*] And I think your Instrument speaks a little more *faintly* 'as' to these, and dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make an apology for anything: but surely two persons, two sorts of them, 'very extensive sorts,' will be merely concerned upon this account: They who exercised that authority, and they who were objects of its exercise! This wholly dissettles them; wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions. It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done 'by us' upon a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. 'Nay, if not,' why subject the Nation to a sort of men who perhaps would do so?* We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. [*Do not "dissettle" his Highness! He has "in that thing," of assuming the Government and passing what Ordinances &c. were indispensable, "deserved well. — Committee of Ninety-nine agree to what is reasonable.*]

If any man will ask me, "But ah, Sir, what have you done *since?*" — Why, ah, — as I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking things as they 'then' were, I think we have done the Com-

* Why subject the Nation to *us*, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your non-approval of us seems to insinuate?

monwealth service! We have therein made great settlements, — that have we. We have settled almost all the whole affairs in Ireland; the rights and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry; [*"Triers" diligent here, "Expurgators" diligent everywhere; much good work completed*] — and I wish that be not an aggravation of our fault;* I wish it be not! But I must needs say, If have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world, as having done any good or service, 'it is this.' I can say it from my heart; and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary, — he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and my own conscience and heart; and 'to' dare bear my testimony to it: There hath not been such a service to England since the Christian Religion was perfect in England! I dare be bold to say it; however there may have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them — [*"are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as Triers and as Expurgators:" but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his "elements of rhetoric" fly into the* ELEMENTAL *state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.*] — They will tell 'you,' it is beside their instructions, 'if they have 'fallen into "passion and mistakes," if they have 'meddled with civil matters, in their operations as 'Triers!'. And we did adopt the thing upon that ac-

* "be not to secure the grave men" (Scott's *Somers*, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense: for *grave men* read *gravamen*, and we have dubiously a sense as above; "an aggravation of our fault with such objectors."

count; we did not trust upon doing what we did *virtute Instituti*, as if 'these Triers were' *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But — [*Checks himself*] — So we end in this: We 'knew not and' know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it in goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful. We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than by doing what we did.

And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it, — in the generality of it, I am confident, forty-fold! For as heretofore the men that were admitted into the Ministry in times of Episcopacy — alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a man a Minister! [*Forty-fold better now.*] If any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted; — as if he spake Welsh; which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many! [*Satirical.* "*They studied Pan,* "*Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, rather than their* "*Hebrew Bible, and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!*"] Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn; and a man was admitted upon such an account [*As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew*]; — ay, and upon a less. — I am sure the admission granted to such places *since* has been under this character as the rule: That they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the Grace of God in him. [*Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must*

go for nothing, — nay for less, if we consider well. In some points of view, it is horrible!] 'Grace of God;' which was to be so inquired for, as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighbouring Ministers who knew him, — he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it,* — though a great many are angry at it, nay if all are angry at it, — for how shall you please everybody?

Then say some, None must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptised 'again.' That is their opinion. [*Anabaptists.*] They will not admit a man into a Congregation to be Minister, except he commence by being so much *less*. The Presbyterians 'again,' they will not admit him unless he be "ordained." Generally *they* will not go to the Independents: — truly I think, if I be not partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [*With the Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.*] Here are Three sorts of Godly Men whom you are to take care for; whom you have provided for in your Settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without, by possibility, excluding all those Anabaptists, all those Independents! And so now you have put it into this way, That though a man be of any of those three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. [*Very good, your Highness!*] This hath been our care and work;

* "I do approve it" is modestly left out.

both by some Ordinances of ours, laying the foundations of it, and by many hundreds of Ministers being 'admitted' in upon it. And if this be a "time of Settlement," then I hope it is not a time of shaking; — and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business too: and that you will neither "shake" the Persons [*Us*] who have been poorly instrumental in calling you to this opportunity of settling this Nation, and of doing good to it; nor shake those honest men's interests who have been thus settled. And so I have done with the offers to you, — 'with these my suggestions to you.' —

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again; looks at Article Seventh there, "That the Revenue shall be 1,300,000*l*;" and also at a Note by himself of the Current Expenses; — much wondering at the contrast of the two; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them!]

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in Law! These are great sums; it is well if I can count them to you. [*Looking on his Note.*] The present charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land will be 2,426,989*l*. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland, is about 1,900,000*l*; I think this was reckoned the most, as the Revenue now stands. Why, now, towards this you settle, by your Instrument, 1,300,000*l*. for the Government; and out of that "to maintain the Force by Sea and Land," and "without Land-tax," I think! and this is short of the Revenue which now can be raised by the 'present Act of' Government 600,000*l*.! [*A grave discrepancy!*] Because, you see, the present Government has 1,900,000*l*; and the whole sum which can

be raised comes 'short' of the present charge by 542,689*l.*, — [*So his Highness says; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or misreported:* 526,989*l. is what "Arithmetic" gives.*] And although an end should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a necessity, for preserving the peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in England, Scotland and Ireland; also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the Army, which comes to upwards of 1,100,000*l. per annum*, and the "Support of the Government" 300,000*l.*, it will be necessary for some convenient time, — seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound healed before it be, — that there be raised, over and above the 1,300,000*l.*, the sum of 600,000*l. per annum;* which makes up the sum of 1,900,000*l.* And likewise that the Parliament declare, How far they will carry on the Spanish War, and for what time; and what farther sum they will raise for carrying on the same, and for what time. [*Explicit, and undeniable!*] And if these things be not ascertained, — as one saith "Money is the Cause," and certainly whatever the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the business will fall to the ground, — all our labour will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have a care of our undertakings! — [*Most practical paragraph.*]

And having received expressions from you which we may believe, we need not offer these things to you; 'we need not doubt' but these things will be cared for. Those things have 'already in Parliament' been made overture of to you; and are before you:

likewise the consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

And so I have done with what I had to offer you, I think I have, truly, for my part. ["*Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?*" *Committee of Ninety-nine looks expectant*] — And when I shall understand where it lies on me to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little farther; — we have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration; — and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, *then* I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself, [*Throws no additional light on the Kingship at all!*] as God shall put in my mind. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say, — when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them, — I do not say that as a *condition* to anything — but I shall then be free and honest and plain to discharge myself of what, in the whole and upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, and 'what' God shall set me free to answer you in.§

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land! —

This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of *buckwashing* (as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of *Somers*, it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put [illegible] by human kind. Yet, in order to educe some sense

§ Somers Tracts, vi. 389-400.

out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buck-basket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or huckabuck: thanks be to Heaven! —

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been *thought* by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and new-polishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for "Reformation of Manners," — with an eye on the "idle fellows about Piccadilly," who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about "Piccadilly House" and its green spaces.* Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised: — "Land-tax," alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; "tax on new buildings" (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing somewhat also in regard to "Triers for the Ministry;" to "Penalties" for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday, 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine wait upon his Highness with it,** —who answers briefly, "speaking very low," That the things are weighty, and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On

* Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archæology: How "piccadillies" (*quasi* Spanish *peccadillos*, or *little sins*, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain shop there; whence &c. &c.

** Burton, ii. 101.

what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! "By the generality" it is understood that he will accept it. But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, "for the present," as Bulstrode indicates, "his Highness did decide to" — in fact speak as follows:

SPEECH XIV.

BANQUETING-HOUSE, Whitehall, Friday forenoon, 8th May 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday May 7th; gave him "a Paper," — some farther last-touches added to their ultimate painfully revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as much as possible, fulfilled; — and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final Answer then. Highness, "sorry to have kept them so long," requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: "We have been there; his Highness will see you all in the Banqueting-House even now."* Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go. — "Petition of certain Officers," that Petition which Ludlow** in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just "at the door:"

* Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in Commons Journals (8th May 1657), vii. 531.

** ii. 588, &c., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.

we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.

MR. SPEAKER,

I come hither to answer That that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me 'yesterday;' which was in relation to the Desires that were offered me by the House in That they called their Petition.

I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.* I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some 'too,' and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have said. I think it is an 'Act of' Government which, in the aims of it, seeks the Settling of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those Rights; — but 'always' to serve it what I can to the attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well provided there for the safety and security of honest men in that great natural and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience. — These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them; as I have done, and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world: That the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

* 23 Febr. — 8th May: ten weeks and more.

I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you, — to wit, the Title of King, — as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honour and respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons, — every man who is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties, surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only a Liberty but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning forbear, — to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

I must confess therefore, though I do acknowledge all the other 'points,' I must be a little confident in this, That what with the circumstances which accompany human actions, — whether they be circumstances of time or persons [*Straightlaced Republican Soldiers that have just been presenting you their Petition*], whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private and particular circumstances such as compass any person who is to render an account of his own actions, — I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith. And

whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it, — whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it [*Thinskinned Republicans or the like "circumstances"*], which make all indifferent actions good or evil. I say "Circumstances" [*Yes!*]; and truly I mean "good or evil" to him that doth it. [*Not to you Honourable Gentlemen, who have merely advised it in general.*]

I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty — Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me [*With a kind glance over those honourable faces; all silent as if dead, many of them with their mouths open*]; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my Answer, That (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the Title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it — as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings — [*Sentence irrecoverable*] — I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of King. And that is mine Answer to this great and weighty Business.§

§ Commons Journals, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday the 12th. Reported too in *Somers* (pp. 400-1), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The Commons Journals give it as here, with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sense.

And so *exeunt* Widdrington and Parliament: "Buzz, buzz! Distinct at last!" — and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended; — and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

"The Protector," says Bulstrode, "was satisfied in his "private judgment that it was fit for him to accept this Title "of King, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But "afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's-men," by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from "the Commonwealth's-men" and "many Officers of the Army," he decided "to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time."* With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favour of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself.** Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of 2,000*l.*: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, "I will *Lambertise* you."*** The "great Lord Lambert," hitherto a very important man, now "cultivated flowers at Wimbledon;" attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in this world.

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted;† a much improved

* Whitlocke, p. 646.

** Godwin, iv. 352, 367. *** Heath's Chronicle.

† Commons Journals, vii. 358 (25th May 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648. — See, in Appendix, No. 32, another Speech of Oliver's on the occasion, forgotten hitherto (*Note of* 1857.)

Frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to "nominate his successor;" and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days,* whereupon is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General Blake: and so: in a general tide of triumphant accordance, and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

SPEECH XV., LETTERS CCXVIII.—CCXXIV.

THE Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying-on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and seven short, most official Letters, are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV.

PARLIAMENT has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful Money-Bills. Assessment of 340,000*l.* a-month on England, 6,000*l.* on Scotland, 9,000*l.* on Ireland;"** to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us,*** which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.

Tuesday morning, 9th June 1657, Message comes to the Honourable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather up their Bills; certain Money-Bills "for an assessment towards the Spanish War;" and "divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment," among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah,

* 28th May (Commons Journals, vii. 54; Burton, ii. 142).
** Parliamentary History, xxi. 151; Commons Journals, vii. 554-7.
*** Commons Journals, vii. 551-2.

who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Sergeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Sergeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honourable Members following, the whole House in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor "finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk." Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a "short and pithy Speech" on the general proceedings of Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: "A few slight Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may it please your Highness." His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:

MR. SPEARER,

I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein. §

The Parliament has still some needful polishing-up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

§ Commons Journals, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon.

LETTER CCXVIII.

OFFICIAL Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The "small Jewel" sent herewith is one of 500*l.* value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, "Instructions" went out to him to leave a Squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

'*To General Blake, at Sea.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 10th June 1657.

I have received yours of 'the 20th of April last;'* and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Santa Cruz.

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the Enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our 'own' ships and men;** — which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and lovingkindness of the Lord, wherewith His People hath been followed in all these late revolutions; and doth call on our part, That we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution 'thereof;' — and have sent you a

* Blank in MS.: see antea, vol. iv. p. 85.

** "50 slain outright, 150 wounded, of ours" (Burton, ii. 142).

small Jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this Action. We are also informed that the Officers of the Fleet, and the Seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence with you, I remain,

Your very affectionate friend,

'OLIVER P.' §

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands, with Six-thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to co-operate with him from the other element. By sea and land are many things passing; — and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognised by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday, 26*th June* 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labours of the Session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, "in a place prepared," duly prepared with all manner of "platforms," "cloths of state," and "seats raised one above the other," "at the upper end of Westminster Hall."

§ Thurloe, vi. 342. "Instructions to General Blake," of the same date, *ibid.*

Palaceyard and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best: the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors, and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people — Let the reader conceive it; or read in old Pamphlets the "exact relation" of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.*

"His Highness standing under the Cloth of State," says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, "the Speaker in the name of the Parliament presented to him: "First, a *Robe* of purple velvet; which the Speaker, assisted "by Whitlocke and others, put upon his Highness. Then he," the Speaker, "delivered to him the *Bible* richly gilt and bossed," an affecting symbolic Gift: "After that, the Speaker girt the "*Sword* about his Highness; and delivered into his hand the "*Sceptre* of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a "Speech to him on these several things presented;" eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. "Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath;" and so ended, really in a solemn manner. "And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recom- "mended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the "Forces by land and sea, and the whole Government and "People of the Three Nations, to the blessing and pro- "tection of God." — — And then "the people gave several great shouts;" and "the trumpets sounded; and the Protector "sat in his chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand:" a remarkable sight to see. "On his right sat the Ambassador "of France," on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; "and near the Earl of Warwick, stood the Lord "Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke,

* An exact Relation of the Manner of the solemn Investiture, &c. (Reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 152-160.

"each of them having a drawn sword in his hand," — a sublime sight to some of us! *

And so this Solemnity transacts itself; — which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism; perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic pages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion. — The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

LETTER CCXIX.

Sea-General Montague, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to co-operate with Land-General Reynolds, on the despatch of real business.

For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.

Sir, Whitehall, 11th August 1657.

You having desired by several Letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the Fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, That we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honour of the Commonwealth.

I remain,

Your very loving friend,

'Oliver P.' §

* Whitelocke, p. 661.

§ Cromwelliana, p. 168: "Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq.," — is now (1846) in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough mss. no. 12,098). Only the Signature is Oliver's, — tragically physiognomic: — in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous.

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, *His Highness's letter, Aug^st. 11, 1657, to comand mee to sayle.*

LETTER CCXX.

For my loving Friend John Dunch, Esquire.

"SIR, 'Hampton Court, 27th August 1657.

I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you were going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me at Hampton Court.

With my respects to your Father,* — I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law to Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey Letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days, — and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCXXI.

GENERAL MONTAGUE, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, "28th August, wind at S. S. W.," being in want of some instruction on a matter that has risen.** "A Flushinger," namely, "has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her; "a Flushinger there, and "six other Dutch Ships" hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent Frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

* Father-in-law, Mayor. § Harris, p. 515.

** His Letter to Secretary) Thurloe *Thurloe*, vi. 439).

'*For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.*'

SIR, Hampton Court, 30th August 1657.

The Secretary hath communicated to us your Letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships which, as you are informed, have bullion and other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared Enemy of this State.

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the Laws of Nations and 'to' the particular Treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the Captains to be careful in doing their duty therein.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

LETTER CCXXII.

BY the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last, * for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute Twenty-thousand men, and the Lord Protector Six-thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haven-towns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with

§ Thurloe, vi. 489.

* 23d March 1656-7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540-3).

the Continent as he was, — continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.* Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six-thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-General Reynolds, were landed, "in new red coats," "near Boulogne, on the 13th and 14th days of May" last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the Coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his joy and admiration over them; — and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not "Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk," on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray, and I know not what in the Interior; — the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, To signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of "Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France" in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of sham industry, and above all things with human *eyes* instead of pedant *spectacles*, might still be worth writing in brief compass**. He is Scotch; of the "Lockharts of Lee" in Lanark-

* *Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time* (in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 329-39), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

** Noble (ii. 233-75) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain MS. "Family Memoirs" of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite *mythological*. Lock-

shire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home; — was in *Hamilton's Engagement*, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,* though only as a common Colonel then, and not noticed by anybody. In the next Scotch War he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or elsewhither. The Covenanted King having vanished, and Lockhart's connexions being Presbyterian-Royalist, there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver, now newly made Protector, — who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him, to continue where he was.

He did continue; married "Miss Robina Sewster," a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom, in her girlhood, we once promised "a distinguished husband;"** has been our Ambassador in France near two years now;*** — does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges, that, in Lockhart, the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favour of the Destinies, turn up.

To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France †

SIR, Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

I have seen your last Letter to Mr. Secretary, as

hart's 'own Letters' are his best Memorial; — for the present, drowned, with so much else, in the deep slumber-lakes of *Thurloe*; with or without chance of recovery.

* Antea, vol. ii. p. 25. ** Antea, vol. i. p. 266.

*** Since 30th Dec. 1655 ("Family Memoirs" in *Noble*, ii. 244).

† Now with the Court at Péronne (Thurloe, vi. 482, 487); soon after at Paris (*ib.* 496).

also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness†† and performance. And that which increaseth our sense 'of this' is, The resolution we 'for our part' had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish 'as' to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath, — we never could doubt, before we made our Treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed 'towards' as we are!

To talk of 'giving us Garrisons' which are *inland*, as Caution for future action; to talk of 'what will be done next Campaign,' — are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne; — which I think they will do *as* soon as be honest in their words in giving us any one Spanish Garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side 'of the Water,' though Spanish.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, That I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to *get* ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any Design he hath! — Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those that are with him; yet we think that, we being able by sea to

†† "ingenuity," as usual, *in orig.*

strengthen and secure his Siege, and 'to' reinforce it as we please by sea, and the Enemy 'being' in capacity to do nothing to relieve it, — the best time to besiege that Place will be *now*. Especially if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succour can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment, — especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward* as they are.

I desire you to let him know That Englishmen have had so good experience of Winter expeditions, they are confident, if the Spaniard shall keep the field, As he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.** And what do all *delays* signify but 'even this:' The giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and the keeping our men another Summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any advantage to ourselves! —

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered-of To give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our Naval Forces and otherwise; which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been incurred, thereby to answer the Engagements we had made. And, 'in fine,' That consideration may be had

* Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them; a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in irregularly here!

** You may cut off his retreat, if he venture that way.

how our Men may be put into a position to be returned to us; — whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know farther, That our intentions, as they have been, will be to do all the good offices we can to promote the Interest common to us.*

Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

LETTER CCXXIII.

SAME date, same parties; an afterthought, by the same Express.

'*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

We desire, having written to you as we have, that the Design be *Dunkirk* rather than Gravelines; and much *more* that it be: — but one of them rather than fail.

We shall not be wanting, To send over, at the French charge, Two of our old regiments, and Two-thousand foot more, if need be, — if Dunkirk be the design.** Believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and if La Ferté's Foot be added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French

* "thereof" in *orig.* § Thurloe, vi. 490.

** Gravelines is to belong to *them*; Dunkirk to *us*; Dunkirk will be much preferable.

Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard, — leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our part. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us *have* any footing on that side the Water, — then I desire, as in our other Letter to you, That all things may be done in order to the giving us satisfaction 'for our expense incurred,' and to the drawing-off of our Men.

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts.

Your loving friend.

OLIVER P.§

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France, "The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil;" — he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened "on the 21st day of September" next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it.

LETTER CCXXIV.

HERE has an old dim Letter lately turned up, — communicated, for new editions, by the distinguished General Montague's Descendant, — which evidently relates to this operation. Resuscitated from its dim Archives, it falls with ready

§ Thurloe, vi. 489.

fitness into rank here; kindling the old dead Books into pleasant momentary light and wakefulness at this point, and sufficiently illuminating itself also thereby. A curious meeting, one of those curious meetings, of old Letterpress now forgotten with old Manuscript never known till now, such as occasionally cheer the learned mind! — Of "Denokson," clearly some Dutch Vauban, or war *timmermann* on the great scale; of him, or of "Colonel Clerke," whom I take to be a Sea-Colonel mainly, the reader needs no commentary; — and is to understand withal that their hasty work was got accomplished, and Mardike put in some kind of fencible condition.

For General Montague, on board the London, before Dunkirk: These.

SIR, Whitehall, 2d October 1657.

This Bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you, — being a very good artist, especially in wooden works, — to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the further strengthening of them.

I hope he is very able to make the Wooden Fort as strong as it is capable to be made; which I judge very desirable to be done with all speed. I desire you will direct him in this view; and afterwards speak with him about it, that upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what Timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back.

I rest,

Your very affectionate friend.

OLIVER P.§

§ Original in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchinbrook (February 1849). Only the Signature is Oliver's; hand, as before, "very shaky.

An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made, some three weeks hence, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous; but it did not succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side, — Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and "four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower" warning Montague not to aim *thitherward*; — and "the dead were carried-off in carts before sunrise."*

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shown by the Six-thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sandhills, was also got, next summer;** Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyallest men had to make their comparisons. — On the whole we may say, this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the Six-thousand, "immortal Six-thousand" as some call them,*** gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

These Mardike-and-Dunkirk Letters are among the last Letters left to us of Oliver Cromwell's: — Oliver's great heroic Dayswork, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor, is drawing to a close! But in the same hours, 31st August 1657, while Oliver wrote so to Lockhart, — let us still spare a corner for recording it, — John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty *Case* of John, was getting buried; still in a noisy manner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism,

* 22d October (Heath's Chronicle, p. 527; Carte's Ormond, ii. 175).

** 13th June 1658, the fight; 15th June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe, vii. 155, 173, &c.). Clarendon, iii. 853-58.

*** Sir William Temple, Memoirs, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin, iv. 747.

or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

"*Monday*, 31*st August* 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly "known by the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying "on Saturday at Eltham, was this morning removed thence to "London; and his corpse conveyed to the House called the "*Mouth*," old, still extant *Bull-and-Mouth* Inn, "at Aldersgate, "— which is the usual meeting-place of the people called "Quakers, to whom, it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. "At this place, in the afternoon, there assembled medley of "people; among whom the Quakers were most eminent for "number: and within the house a controversy was, Whether "the ceremony of a hearse-cloth" (pall) "should be cast over "his coffin? But the major part, being Quakers, would not "assent; so the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening, "brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood "a man on purpose to cast a velvet hearse-cloth over the "coffin; and he endeavoured to do it; but the crowd of Quakers "would not permit him; and having gotten the body upon "their shoulders, they carried it away without farther cere-"mony; and the whole company conducted it into Moorfields, "and thence to the new Churchyard adjoining to Bedlam, "where it lieth interred."*

One noisy element, then, is out of this world: — another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stuart Spaniards and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized "in the "Ship *Hope*, in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, "and his face much altered by an overgrown beard;" — before the Ship *Hope* could get under weigh, about a month ago.** Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 168).
** 24th July (Newspapers, in Cromwelliana, p. 167).

confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,* and to his own relief and ours disappears, — poor Sexby.

Sexby, like the Stormy Peterel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist Tumult is a-brewing. "They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt," — it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assassination. New troubles are hoped from this new Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The "Excluded Members" are to be readmitted then; there is to be a "Second House:" who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea: but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them! —

Wednesday, 11*th November* 1657. "This day," say the old Newspapers, "the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Fran-"ces Cromwell, youngest Daughter of his Highness the Lord "Protector, was married to the most noble gentleman Mr. "Robert Rich, Son of the Lord Rich, Grandchild of the Earl "of Warwick and of the Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; "in the presence of their Highnesses, and of his Grandfather "and Father, and the said Countess, with many other per-"sons of high honour and quality." At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome; — which we are glad to hear of, "though our friends truly were very few!" — And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own wedding.** Wedding "to the most noble lord, the Lord Fauconberg," lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named, — which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connexions. For the rest, a brilliant, ingenuous and hopeful young man, "in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts;"*** of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.

* Ibid. pp. 169-70.

** Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 169).

*** Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as

And now for the new Session of Parliament which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all!

SPEECHES XVI.—XVIII., LETTER CCXXV.

The First Session of this Parliament closed, last June, under such auspicious circumstances as we saw; leaving the People and the Lord Protector in the comfortable understanding that there was now a Settlement arrived at, at Government possible by Law; that irregular exercises of Authority, Major-Generals and such like, would not be needed henceforth for saving of the Commonwealth. Our Public Affairs, in the Netherlands and elsewhere, have prospered in the interim; nothing has misgone. Why should not this Second Session be as successful as the First was? — Alas, success, especially on such a basis as the humours and parliamentary talkings and self-developments of Four-hundred men, is very uncertain! And indeed this Second Session meets now under conditions somewhat altered.

For one thing, there is to be a new House of Lords: we know not how that may answer! For another thing, it is not now permissible to stop our Haselrigs, Scotts and Ashley Coopers at the threshold of the Parliament, and say, Ye shall not enter: if they choose to take the Oath prescribed by this new Instrument, they have power to enter, and only the Parliament itself can reject them. These, in this Second Session, are new elements; on which, as we have seen, the generation of Plotters are already speculating; on which naturally his Highness too has his anxieties. His Highness, we find, as heretofore, struggles to *do* his best and wisest, not yielding much to anxieties: but the result is, this Session proved entirely unsuccessful; perhaps the unsuccessfullest of all Sessions or Parliaments on record hitherto! —

The new House of Lords was certainly a rather questionable adventure. You do not improvise a Peerage: — no, his

ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21st March 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 134; 125).

Highness is well aware of that! Nevertheless "somewhat to stand between me and the House of Commons' has seemed a thing desirable, a thing to be decided on: and this new House of Lords, this will be a "somewhat," — the best that can be had in present circumstances. Very weak and small as yet, like a tree new planted; but very certain to grow stronger, if it have real life in it, if there be in the nature of things a real necessity for it. Plant it, try it, this new Puritan Oliverian Peerage-of-Fact, such as it has been given us. The old Peerage-of-Descent, with its thousand years of strength, — what of the old Peerage has Puritan sincerity, and manhood and marrow in its bones, will, in the course of years, rally round an Oliver and his new Peerage-of-Fact, — as it is already, by many symptoms, showing a tendency to do. If the Heavens ordain that Oliver continue and succeed as hitherto, undoubtedly his new Peerage may succeed along with him, and gather to it whatever of the Old is worth gathering. In the mean while it has been enacted by the Parliament and him; his part is now, To put it in effect the best he can.

The List of Oliver's Lords can be read in many Books;* but issuing as that matter did, it need not detain us here. Puritan Men of Eminence, such as the Time had yielded: Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, Pride, Hewson, these are what we may call the *Napoleon-Marshals* of the business: Whitlocke, Haselrig, Lenthall, Maynard, old Francis Rouse, Scotch Warriston, Lockhart; Notabilities of Parliament, of Religious Politics, or Law. Montague, Howard are there; the Earls of Manchester, Warwick, Mulgrave, — some six Peers; of whom only one, the Lord Eure from Yorkshire, would, for the present, take his seat. The rest of the Six as yet stood aloof; even Warwick, as near as he was to the Lord Protector, could not think** of sitting with such a Napoleon-

* Complete, in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 167-9: incomplete, with angry contemporary glosses to each Name, which are sometimes curious, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 460-71. An old Copy of the official *Summons* to these Lords is in *Additional Ayscough* MSS., no. 3246.

** Ludlow, ii. 596.

Marshal as Major-General Hewson, who, men say, started as a Shoemaker in early life. Yes; in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along, — proving himself a bit of right good stuff, thinks the Lord Protector! You, Warwicks and others, according to what sense of manhood you may have, you can look into this Hewson, and see if you find any manhood or worth in him; — I have found some! The Protector's List, compiled under great difficulties,* seems, so far as we can now read it, very unexceptionable; practical, substantial, with an eye for the New and for the Old; doing between these two, with good insight, the best it can. There were some Sixty-three summoned in all; of whom some Forty and upwards sat, mostly taken from the House of Commons: — the worst effect of which was, that his Highness thereby lost some forty favourable votes in that other House; which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there.

However, Wednesday 20th January 1657-8 has arrived. The Excluded Members are to have readmission, — so many of them as can take the Oath according to this New Instrument. His Highness hopes if they volunteer to swear this Oath, they will endeavour to keep it; and seems to have no misgivings about them. He to govern and administer, and they to debate and legislate, in conformity with this Petition and Advice, not otherwise; this is, in word and in essence, the thing they and he have mutually with all solemnity bargained to do. It may be rationally hoped that in all misunderstandings, should such arise, some good basis of agreement will and must unfold itself between parties so related to each other. The common dangers, as his Highness knows and will in due time make known, are again imminent; Royalist Plottings once more rife, Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion once more preparing itself.

But now the Parliament reassembling on this Wednesday

* Thurloe, vi. 648.

the 20th, there begins, in the "Outer Court," since called the Lobby, an immense "administering of the Oath," the whole Parliament taking it; Six Commissioners appearing "early in the morning," with due apparatus and solemnity, minutely described in the Journals and Old Books;* and then labouring till all are sworn. That is the first great step. Which done, the Commons House constitutes itself; appoints "Mr. Smythe" Clerk, instead of Scobell, who has gone to the Lords, and with whom there is continual controversy thenceforth about "surrendering of Records" and the like. In a little while (hour not named) comes Black Rod; reports that his Highness is in the Lords House, waiting for this House. Whereupon, Shoulder Mace, — yes, let us take the Mace, — and march. His Highness, somewhat indisposed in health, leaving the main burden of the exposition to Nathaniel Fiennes of the Great Seal, who is to follow him, speaks to this effect; as the authentic Commons Journals yield it for us.

SPEECH XVI.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN 'OF' THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I meet you here in this capacity by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament. After so much expense of blood and treasure, 'we are now' to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these Nations. I cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknowledge the labour and industry that is past, 'your past labour,' which hath been spent upon a business worthy of the best men and the best Christians. [*May it prove fruitful!*]

It is very well known unto you all what difficulties we have passed through; and what 'issue' we are now arrived at. We hope we may say we have arrived if not 'altogether' at what we aimed at, yet at that which

* Commons Journals vii. 578; Whitlocke, p. 666; Burton, ii. 322.

is much beyond our expectations. The nature of this Cause, and the Quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know; I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it: It was the maintaining of the Liberty of these Nations; our Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Liberties as Christians. [*Have we arrived at that?*] I shall not much look back; but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration,* after the beginning of this War, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, That for some succession of time designs had been laid to innovate upon the Civil Rights of the Nations, 'and' to innovate in matters of Religion. And those very persons who, a man would have thought, should have had the least hand in meddling with Civil things, did justify them all. [*Zealous sycophant Priests, Sibthorp, Manwaring, Montagu, of the Laud fraternity: forced-loans, monopolies, ship-moneys, all Civil Tyranny was right according to them!*] All the 'Civil' transactions that were, — 'they justified them' in their pulpits, presses, and otherwise! Which was verily thought, 'had they succeeded in it,' would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate upon us in matters of Religion also. And so to innovate as to eat out the core and power and heart and life of all Religion! By bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish Ceremonies [*Somewhat animated, your Highness!*], and imposing them upon those that were accounted "the Puritans" of the Na-

* Declaration, 2d August 1642, went through the Lords House that day; it is in *Parliamentary History*, vi. 350. A thing of audacity reckoned almost impious at the time (see D'Ewes's MS. *Journal*, 23d July); corresponds in purport to what is said of it here.

tion, and professors of religion among us, — driving them to seek their bread in an howling wilderness! As was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find Liberty for their Consciences.

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our Quarrel, and of those Ten Years of War wherein we were exercised; and if the good hand of God, for we are to attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus home unto us as it is now settled in the Petition and Advice, — I think we have all cause to bless God, and the Nations have all cause to bless Him. [*If we were of thankful just heart, — yea!*]

I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-fifth Psalm when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament.* Which expresseth well what *we* may say, as truly as it was said of old by the Penman of that Psalm! The first verse is an acknowledgment to God that He "had been favourable unto His land," and "brought back the captivity of His people;" and 'then' how that He had, "pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their sin, and taken away all His wrath;" — and indeed of these unspeakable mercies, blessings, and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning of national sins and national iniquities. Pardoning, as God pardoneth the man whom He justifieth! He breaks through, and overlooks iniquity; and pardoneth because He will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth Nations also! — And if the enjoyment of our present Peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God 'to *us*,' — we feel and we see them every day.

* Antea, Speech VI. p. 209.

The greatest demonstration of His favour and love appears to us in this: That He hath given us *Peace;* — and the blessings of Peace, to wit, the enjoyment of our Liberties civil and spiritual! [*Were not our prayers, and struggles, and deadly wrestlings, all even for this;— and we in some measure have it!*] And I remember well, the Church 'in that same Eighty-fifth Psalm' falls into prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies; and breaks into this expression: "Surely salvation is nigh unto them that fear Him; that glory may dwell in our land." In the beginning it is called His land; "Thou hast been favourable to Thy land." Truly I hope this is His land! In some sense it may be given out that it *is* God's land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge, and the worst memory, can easily tell that we are "a Redeemed People," — 'from the time' when God was first pleased to look favourably upon us, 'to redeem us' out of the hands of Popery, in that never to be forgotten Reformation, that most significant and greatest 'mercy' the Nation hath felt or tasted! I would but touch upon that, — but a touch: How God hath redeemed us, as we stand this day! Not from trouble and sorrow and anger only, but into a blessed and happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all Interests, of every member, of every individual; — 'an imparting to *us*' of those mercies 'there spoken of,' as you very well see!

And then in what sense it is "our Land;" — through this grace and favour of God, That He hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, Peace, and rest out of Ten Years War; and

given us what we would desire! Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, That ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? [*Strange; this "liberty" is to Oliver Cromwell a blessing almost too great for belief; to us it has become as common as the liberty to breathe atmospheric air,— a liberty not once worth thinking of, It is the way with all attainments and conquests in this world. Do I think of Cadmus, or the old unknown Orientals, while I write with* LETTERS? *The world is built upon the mere dust of Heroes: once earnest-wrestling, death-defying, prodigal of their blood; who now sleep well, forgotten by all their heirs.— — "Without fear of enemies," he says*] Which is the very acknowledgment of the Promise of Christ that "He would deliver His from the fear of enemies, "that they might worship Him in holiness and in "righteousness all the days of their life."

This is the portion that God hath given *us;* and I trust we shall forever heartily acknowledge it! — The Church goes on there, 'in that Psalm,' and makes her boast yet farther; "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land." *His* glory; not carnal, nor anything related thereto: this glory of a Free Possessoin of the Gospel; this is that which we may glory in! [*Beautiful, thou noble soul! — And very strange to see such things in the Journals of the English House of Commons. O Heavens, into what oblivion of the Highest have stupid, canting, cotton-spinning, partridge-shooting mortals fallen, since that January* 1658!] And it is said farther, "Mercy and Truth are met to-"gether; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each "other." And 'note,' it shall be such righteousness as

comes down from Heaven: "Truth shall grow out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall come down from Heaven." Here is the Truth of all 'truths;' here is the righteousness of God, under the notion of righteousness confirming *our* abilities, — answerable to the truth which He hath in the Gospel revealed to us! [*According to Calvin and Paul.*] And the Psalm closeth with this: "Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps;" — that righteousness, that mercy, that love and that kindness which we have seen, and been made partakers of from the Lord, *it* shall be our Guide, to teach us to know the right and the good way; which is, To tread in the steps of mercy, righteousness and goodness that our God hath walked before us in. —

We 'too' have a Peace this day! I believe in my very heart, you all think the things that I speak to you this day. I am sure you have cause.

And yet we are not without the murmurings of many people, who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood; who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions; great ones, lesser ones, — of all sorts. Men that are of the Episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches; — who gave themselves a fatal blow in this Place,* when they would needs make a "Protestation that no Laws were good, which were made by "this House and the House of Commons in *their* absence;" and so without injury to others cut themselves off! 'Men of an Episcopal spirit:' indeed men

* In this same House of Lords, on the 10th of December 1641. Busy Williams the Lincoln Decoy-duck, with his Eleven too-hasty Bishops, leading the way in that suicide. (Antea, vol. I. pp. 95, 96).

that know not God; that know not how to account upon the works of God, how to measure them out; but will trouble Nations for an Interest which is but *mixed*, at the best, — made up of iron and clay, like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's Image: whether they were more Civil or Spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like to be known beforehand; [*Yes, your Highness!*] iron and clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at all! —

You have now a godly Ministry; you have a knowing Ministry; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not. Men knowing the things of God, and able to search into the things of God, — by that only which can fathom those things in some measure. The spirit of a beast knows not the things of a man; nor doth the spirit of man know the things of God! "The things of God are known *by the Spirit.*"* — Truly I will remember but one thing of those, 'the misguided persons now cast out from us:' Their greatest persecution hath been of the People of God; — men really of the spirit of God, as I think very experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated! —

But what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before, They understand not the works of God. They consider not the operation of His Laws. They consider not that God resisted and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might fear Him; — might have liberty to do and enjoy all that we have been speaking of! Which certainly God has manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought the things to pass! *Therefore* it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God.

* 1 Corinthians, ii. 11.

And for that very cause, saith David (*Psalm Twenty-eighth*), "He shall break them down, and not build them up!"

If, therefore, you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation 'to be' from God. He hath set you where you are: He hath set you in the enjoyment of your Civil and Spiritual Liberties.

I deal clearly with you,* I have been under some infirmity; [*His Highness still looks unwell*] therefore dare not speak farther to you; — except to let you know thus much, That I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our Cause, and our attainments in it by the industry and labour of this Parliament since they last met upon this foundation — You shall find I mean, Foundation of a Cause and Quarrel thus attained-to, wherein we are thus estated.** I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours; [*What a tone!*] — and would have done it, with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity I ever yet was in, to serve the Parliament.

If God give you, as I trust He will, — ["*His blessing*" *or* "*strength:*" *but the Sentence is gone.*] — He *hath* given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done? He hath given you strength to do what you have done! And if God should bless you in this work, and make this Meeting happy on this account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. [*Poor Oliver!*] — The generations to come will bless us. You shall be the "repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in!"*** And if there be

* Means "Give me leave to say."

** This Parliament's "foundation," the ground *this* Parliament took its stand upon, was a recognition that our Cause had been so and so, that our "attainment" and "estate" in it were so and so; hence their *Petition and Advice*, and other very salutary labours.

*** Isaiah, lviii. 12.

any higher work which mortals can attain unto in the world, beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance 'of it.'

As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired an Honourable Person here by me — [*Glancing towards Nathaniel Fiennes, him with the Purse and Seal*] to discourse, a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting.§

Nathaniel Fiennes follows in a long highflown, ingenious Discourse,* characterised by Dryasdust, in his Parliamentary History and other Works, as false, canting, and little less than insane; for which the Anti-dryasdust reader has by this time learned to forgive that fatal Doctor of Darkness. Fiennes's Speech is easily recognisable, across its Calvinistic dialect, as full of sense and strength; broad manful thought and clear insight, couched in a gorgeous figurative style, which a friendly judge might almost call poetic. It is the first time we thoroughly forgive the Honourable Nathaniel for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert long ago; and rejoice that Prynne and Independency Walker did not get him shot, by Court-Martial, on that occasion.

Nathaniel compares the present state of England to the rising of Cosmos out of Chaos as recorded in *Genesis:* Two "firmaments" are made, two separate Houses of Parliament; much is made, but much yet remains to be made. He is full of figurative ingenuity; full of resolution, of tolerance, of discretion, and various other good qualities not very rife in the world. "What shall be done to our Sister that hath no breasts?" he asks, in the language of Solomon's Song. What shall we do with those good men, friends to our Cause, who yet reject us, and sit at home on their estates? We will soothe

§ Commons Journals, vii. 579: that is the Original, — reported by Widdrington next day. *Burton* (ii. 322), *Parliamentary History* (xxi. 170) are copies.

* Reported, Commons Journals, vii. 582-7, Monday 25th Jan. 1657-8.

them, we will submit to them, we will in all ways invite them to us. Our little Sister, — "if she be a wall, we will build a "palace of silver upon her; if she be a door, we will enclose "her with boards of cedar:" — our little Sister shall not be estranged from us, if it please God! —

There is, in truth, need enough of unanimity at present. One of these days, there came a man riding jogtrot through Stratford-at-the-Bow, with "a green glazed cover over his hat," a "nightcap under it," and "his valise behind him;" a rustic-looking man; recognisable to *us*, amid the vanished populations who take no notice of him as he jogs along there, — for the Duke of Ormond, Charles Stuart's head man! He sat up, at Colchester, the night before, "playing shuffleboard with some farmers, and drinking hot ale." He is fresh from Flanders, and the Ex-King; has arrived here to organise the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, and see what Royalist Insurrection, or other domestic mischief there may be hopes of. Lodges now, "with dyed hair," in a much disguised manner, "at the house of a Papist Chirurgeon in Drury Lane;" communicating with the ringleaders here.*

The Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on foot, and no fable. He has Four English-Irish Regiments; the low-minded Dutch, we understand, have hired him Two-and-twenty ships, which hope to escape our frigates some dark night; and Don John has promised a Spanish Army of Six-thousand or Ten-thousand, if the domestic Royalists will bestir themselves. Like the waves of the sea, that cannot rest; that have to go on, throwing up mire and dirt! Frantic-Anabaptists too are awakening; the general English Hydra is rallying itself again, as if to try it one other last time.

Foreign Affairs also look altogether questionable to a Protestant man. Swede and Dane in open war; inextricable quarrels bewildering the King of Sweden, King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, all manner of Foreign Protestants, whom Oliver never yet could reconcile; and the Dutch

* Carte's Ormond, ii. 176-8.

playing false; and the Spaniards, the Austrians, the Pope and Papists, too well united! — Need enough that this Parliament be unanimous.

The hopes of Oliver and Fiennes and all practicable Puritans may have naturally stood high at this meeting: — but if so, it was not many hours till they began fatally to sink. There exists also an *im*practicable set of Puritan men, — the old Excluded Members, introduced now, or now first admitted into this Parliament, — whom no beautifullest "two firmaments" seen overspanning Chaos, no Spanish Invasion threatening to bring Chaos back, no hopefullest and no fearfullest phenomenon of Nature or Constitutional Art, will ever divorce from their one Republican Idea. Intolerability of the Single Person: this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes, and Art in her spoken interpretations thereof, reveal to these men. It is their one Idea; which, in fact, they will carry with them to — the gallows at Charing Cross, when no Oliver any more is there to restrain it and them! Poor windy angry Haselrig, poor little peppery Thomas Scott — And yet these were not the poorest. Scott was only hanged: but what shall we say of a Luke Robinson, also very loud in this Parliament, who had to turn his coat that he might escape hanging? The history of this Parliament is not edifying to Constitutional men.

SPEECH XVII.

We said, the Two Houses, at least the First House, very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. Hardly had they got into their respective localities after his Highness's Opening Speech, when the New House, sending the Old a simple message about requesting his Highness to have a day of Fasting, there arose a Debate as to What answer should be given; as to What "name," first of all, this said New House was to have, — otherwise what answer could you give? Debate carried on with great vigour; resumed, re-resumed day after day; — and never yet terminated; not destined to be terminated in this world! How eloquent were peppery Thomas

Scott and others, lest we should call them a House of *Lords*, — not, alas, lest he the peppery Constitutional Debater, and others such, should lose their own heads, and entrust their Cause with all its Gospels to a new very curious Defender of the Faith! It is somewhat sad to see.

On the morning of Monday January 25th, the Writer of the Diary called *Burton's*, — Nathaniel Bacon if that were he, — finds, on entering the House, Sir Arthur Haselrig on his feet there, saying, "Give me my Oath!" Sir Arthur, as we transiently saw, was summoned to the Peers House; but he has decided to sit *here*. It is an ominous symptom. After "Mr. Peters" has concluded his morning exercise,* the intemperate Sir Arthur again demands, "Give me my Oath!" — "I dare not," answers Francis Bacon, the official person; Brother of the Diarist. But at length they do give it him; and he sits: Sir Arthur is henceforth here. And, on the whole, ought we not to call this pretended Peers House the "Other House" merely? Sir Arthur, peppery Scott, Luke Robinson and Company, are clearly of that mind.

However, the Speaker has a Letter from his Highness, summoning us all to the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, this afternoon at three; both Houses shall meet him there. There accordingly does his Highness, do both Houses and all the Official world make appearance. Gloomy Rushworth, Bacon, and one "Smythe," with Notebooks in their hands, are there. His Highness, in the following large manful manner, looking before and after, looking abroad and at home, with true nobleness if we consider all things, — speaks:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

(For *so* I must own you), in whom together with myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations! — The impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for which we are met together is such

* Burton, ii. 347.

that I could not with a good conscience satisfy myself, if I did not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs of these Nations; together with the proposal of such remedy as may occur, to the dangers now imminent upon us.

I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations is now at stake. If God bless this Meeting, — our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if *otherwise*, — I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by the time I have done, whether there be, as to *men*,* 'so much as' a possibility of discharging that Trust which is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. [*His Highness, I think, looks earnest enough today. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth today of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough, — and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what "it shall please God Almighty" to do!*]

I look upon this to be the great duty of my Place; as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so wise and great a Council as this, which hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, such "good" may be attained, and such "evil," whatever it is, may be obviated. [*Truly!*] We shall hardly set our shoulders to this

* humanly speaking.

work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that *there is need* of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is! — I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you in understanding me; — but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.

We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of what things may be of the greatest concernment to us. [*No mortal thinks so, your Highness!*] Your dangers, — for that is the head of my speech, — are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. You are come now, as I may say, into the end [*Which may but prove the new beginning!*] of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had in my thoughts to have made this the method of my Speech: To have let you see the things which hazard your Being, and 'those which hazard' your Well-being. But when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, all things would resolve themselves into very Being! You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God strengthen you not to meet these evils that are upon us!

First, from Abroad: What are the Affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion was a thing of "Well-being;" and truly, in a good sense, so it is, and it is no more: though it be a very high thing, it is but a thing of

"Well-being." [*A Nation can still* BE, *even without Protestantism.*] But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants of it, with respect had to the Nations abroad, — I do believe, he that looks well about him, and considereth the estate of the Protestant Affairs all Christendom over; he must needs say and acknowledge that the grand Design now on foot, in comparison with which all other Designs are but low things, is, Whether the Christian world shall be all Popery? Or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have 'a love to, and' a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interests of all the Protestant Christians in the world? [*Yes, your Highness; the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril, — with what indifference do we now, safe at two-centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off, — ungrateful as we are!*] He that strikes at but one species of a general* to make it nothing, strikes at all.

Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest abroad is struck-at; and is, in opinion and apprehension, quite under foot, trodden down? Judge with me a little, I beseech you, Whether it be so or no. And then, I will pray you, consider how far *we* are concerned in that danger, as to 'our very' Being!

We have known very well, the Protestant Cause is accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation. It was not trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees, — that this Interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered. It is at another rate now! For certainly this, in the general, 'is the fact:' The Papacy, and those that are upholders of it, they have openly

* Means "one limb of a body:" metaphysical metaphor.

and avowedly trodden God's people under foot, on this very motion and account, that they were Protestants. The money you parted-with in that noble Charity which was exercised in this Nation, and the just sense you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction enough to yourselves of this,* That if all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of the whole. But is this 'of Piedmont' all? No. Look how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, 'both in Austria Proper and Spain,' are armed and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

Is not, — to begin there, — the King of Hungary, who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment of all men 'with' not only a possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it, — is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of the Electors, 'as good as sure of the Emperorship?'** No doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors 'on his side,' and the Duke of Bavaria. [*There are but Eight Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.*] Whom will he then have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? Is not he the son of a Father whose principles, interest and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country, — out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of Moravia and Silesia? [*Ferdinand*

* proof enough that you believed.

** Emperor Ferdinand III., under whom the Peace of Westphalia was made, had died this year; his second son, Leopold, on the death of the first son, had been made King of Hungary in 1655; he was, shortly after this, elected Emperor, Leopold I., and reigned till 1705. "Brandenburg" was Frederick William; a distinguished Prince; father of the First King of Prussia; Frederick the Great's great-grandfather; properly the Founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

the Second, his Grandfather; yea, your Highness; — and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred, that!] 'And' it is the daily complaint which comes over to us, — new reiterations of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers of the City, That the Protestants are tossed out of Poland into the Empire; and out thence whither they can fly to get their bread; and are ready to perish for want of food.

And what think you of the other side of Europe, Italy to wit, — if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may, — 'Italy,' Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, the Piedmonts before mentioned, the Switzers? They all; — what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself [*Neuter gender*] the Head of all this! A Pope fitted, — I hope indeed "born" not "*in*," but out of "due time," to accomplish this bloody work; so that he may fill up his cup to the brim, and make himself ripe for judgment! [*Somewhat grim of look, your Highness!*] He doth as *he* hath always done. He influences all the Powers, all the Princes of Europe to this very thing [*Rooting-out of the Protestants. — The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in! — He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap, — that* WE *for all coming centuries may be safe and ungrateful!*]; — and no man like this present man.* So that, I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe but a consent, a coöperating, at this very time and season, 'of all Popish Powers' to suppress

* Alexander VII.; "an able Pope," Dryasdust informs me.

everything that stands in their way? [*A grave epoch indeed.*]

But it may be said, "This is a great way off, in the extremest parts of the world;* what is that to us?" — If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England.

I have, I thank God, considered, and I would beg of you to consider a little with me: What that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty current, which seems to be coming from all parts upon all Protestants? Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this danger? A poor Prince [*Charles X. King of Sweden; at present attacked by the King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him*]; — indeed poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these last ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest in Poland, and made his acquisition still good 'there' for the Protestant Religion. He is now reduced into a corner: and what addeth to the grief of all, — more grievous than all that hath been spoken of before (I wish it may not be too truly said!) — is, That men of our Religion forget this, and seek his ruin. [*Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? "I wish it may not be too truly said!"*]

I beseech you consider a little; consider the consequences of all that! For what doth it all signify? Is it only a noise? Or hath it not withal an articulate sound in it? Men that are not true to the Religion we 'profess,' —'profess' I am persuaded, with greater truth, uprightness

* "parts of it" in orig.

and sincerity than it is 'professed' by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the world, — God will find them out! [*The low-minded Dutch; pettifogging for "Sound Dues," for "Possession of the Sound," and mere shopkeeper lucre!*] I beseech you consider how things do coöperate. 'Consider,' If this may seem but a design against your Well-being? It is a design against your very Being; this artifice, and this complex design, against the Protestant Interest, — wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve your Shipping? Where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I believe, if you will go and ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat [*"Coat," I hope, is not "red:" — but we are in haste*], as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before your godliness [*Whatever certain Dutch and Danes may do!*], but reckon godliness the *greater* gain!

But should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whomsoever, — I name no one state upon this head, [*Do not name the Dutch, with their pettifoggings for the Sound; no!*] but I think all acknowledge States *are* en-

gaged in the combination, — judge you where you were! You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your Ditch, nor your Shipping, — unless you turn your Ships and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; and fight to defend yourselves on *terra firma!* —

And these things stated, *liberavi animam meam;* and if there be "no danger" in 'all' this, I am satisfied. I have told you; you will judge if no danger! If you shall think, We may discourse of all things at pleasure, — [*Debate for days and weeks, Whether it shall be "House of Lords" or "Other House;" put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No; and thrash the air with idle jargon!*] — and that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, without any due sense of these things, — I have this comfort to God-ward: I have told you of it. [*Yes, your Highness! — O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no* SENSE *of truth in you, then; no discernment of what really is what? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a gray waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic? Such* HEADS, *too common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves — stuck up on Temple Bar!*

Really were it not that France (give me leave to say it) is a balance against the Party at this time —! — Should there be a Peace made (which hath been, and is still laboured and aimed at, "a General Peace"), then will England be the "general" object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies of God and our Religion in the world! I have nobody to accuse; —

but do look on the other side of the water! You have neighbours there; some that you are in amity with; some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends, — that is, rather believe your enemy, and trust *him* that he means your ruin, than have confidence in some who perhaps may be in some alliance with you! [*We have watched the Dutch, and their dealings in the Baltic lately!*] — I perhaps could enforce all this with some particulars, nay I 'certainly' could. For you know that your enemies be the same who have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the crown. An avowed designed enemy 'all along;' wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence, to root you out from the face of the Earth: and when public attempts [*Spanish Armadas and such like*] would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by taking away the lives of them whom they judged to be of any use for preserving our peace! [*Guy Faux and Jesuit Garnet were a pair of pretty men; to go no farther. Ravaillac in the Rue de la Ferronerie, and Stadtholder William's Jesuit; and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they have not wanted "counsel," of a sort!*] And at this time I ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business *then* was: The Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it, 'had protection from her.' I hope they will never ill requite it! For if they should forget either

the kindness that was then shown them (which was their real safety), or the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them, — truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. [*He cannot, your Highness: unless* GOD *and His* TRUTH *be a mere Hearsay of the market, he never can!*] But this may awaken you, howsoever. I hope you will be awakened, upon all these considerations! It is certain, they [*These Dutch*] have professed a principle which, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so. And truly that principle is not a matter of dispute at this time, 'we are not here to argue with them about it:' only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought; — let it do so. And we must tell you, we do know that this, 'of their having such a principle,' is *true*. I dare assure you of it; and I think if but your Exchange here 'in London' were resorted-to, it would let you know, as clearly as you can desire to know, That they have hired — sloops, I think they call them, or some other name, — they have hired sloops, 'let sloops on hire,' to transport upon you Four-thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's Son. [*What a designation for "Charles by the grace of God!" The "was" may possibly have been "is" when spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.*] And this is, I think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to any ill end or purpose: — a thing to no other end than that it may awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, and to uniting for a just and natural defence.

Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any

artifice with you to pray you to help us with money for defending ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, "Pray help us with money, that the Interest of the Nation may be defended abroad and at home." I will use no arguments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of bad men abroad who say, It is for money. Whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion — [*His fate may be guessed; but the Sentence is off*] — Four you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these Nations.

If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations, 'of home affairs and foreign,' have but this effect, to *get* a consideration among you, a due and just consideration, — let God move your hearts for the answering* of anything that shall be due unto the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall not be solicitous [*The "artifice" and "money" of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears*]; I shall look up to Him who hath been my God and my Guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you are all, honest and worthy good men; and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame for us that we are English.

* performing on such demand.

men; — but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it. [*Truly!*] — But, I beseech you, what is our case at home? — I profess I do not well know where to begin on this head, or where to end, — I do not. But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you 'upon.' We are as full of calamities, and of divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, 'as we could well be,' — though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, 'still' in peace! And the fighting we have had, and the success we have had — yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather in that distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men, 'that we are got again to peace' —

["Beautiful great Soul," exclaims a modern Commentator here, "Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all "irradiated with the Eternal, and God is everywhere divinely "visible in the affairs of men, and man himself has as it were "become divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have those days and "those souls passed away without return? — Patience: intrinsically they can never pass away: intrinsically they "remain with us; and will yet, in nobler unexpected form, "reappear among us, — if it please Heaven! There *have been* "Divine Souls in England; England too, poor moiling toiling "heavyladen thickeyed England has been illuminated, though "it were but once, by the Heavenly Ones; — and *once*, in a "sense, is always!"]

— that we are got again to peace. And whoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty root that man out of

this Nation! And He will do it, let the pretences be what they may! [*Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!*]

'Peace-breakers, do they consider what it *is* they are driving towards? They should do it!' He that considereth not the "woman with child," — the sucking children of this Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full as Nineveh was said to be; — he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come of the bodies of those now living added to these; he that considereth not these, must have the heart of a Cain; who was marked, and made to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man to his grave, if not to Hell! [*Where is Sam Cooper, or some 'prince of limners,' to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best Historical Paintings for it, gilt frames and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!*] — I say, look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of Interests in this Nation, — if they be worthy the name of Interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be but one Cain in England, if God did not restrain! We should have another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people, — if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil account — [*Sentence gone; meaning left clear enough*] — Is not this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which possesseth every sect? What is it? That every sect may be

uppermost! That every sort of men may get the power into their hands, and "they would use it well;" — that every sect may get the power into their hands! [*A reflection to make one wonder. — Let them thank God they have got a man able to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate, peppery, loud-babbling individuals, — with so much good in them too, while 'bitted!'*]

It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content with rule. 'Content with rule,' if it were but in Civil things, and with those that would rule *worst;* — because misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a bad Government, is better than none! — Neither is this all: but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making wounds, 'but widening those already made.' As if you should see one making wounds in a man's side, and eager only to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds! This is what 'such' men would be at; this is the spirit of those who would trample on men's liberties in Spiritual respects. They will be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they were. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything — I speak not of sects in an ill sense; but the Nation is hugely made up of them, — and what is the want that prevents these things from being done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. 'There wants nothing else.' And, I beseech you, judge what such a company of men, of these sects, are doing, while they are contesting one with another! They are contesting in the midst of a generation of men (a malignant Episcopal Party, I mean); contesting in the midst of these *all united.* What must be the issue of such a thing as

this? 'So stands it;' it is *so*. — And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men. [*Republican spirits: we took a "Standard" lately, a Painted one, and a Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it!*] Summoning men to take up arms; and exhorting men, each sort of them, to fight for their notions; each sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword; and every sort thinking that *they* are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, and bind themselves in such a project!*

Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation is in. *This* is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the Cause of God 'is in,' — amidst such a party of men as the Cavaliers are, and their participants! Not only with respect to what these — ["*Cavaliers and their Participants,*" *both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length exclusively, before the Sentence ends*] — are like to do of themselves: but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal: [*Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other day, he was not very careful!*] — some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to carry on the Cavalier Cause.

And this is *true*. 'This' and many other things that are not fit to be suggested unto you; because 'so' we should betray the interest of our intelligence. [*Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we show them in daylight, they vanish forever, — as Manning, when they shot him in Newbury, did.*] I say, this is your condition! What is your defence? What hindereth the irruption of all this upon you, to

* "and oblige upon this account" in orig.

your utter destruction? Truly, 'that' you have an Army in these parts, — in Scotland, in England and Ireland. Take *them* away tomorrow, would not all these Interests run into one another? — I know you are rational prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if *this* be not the Frame, 'this' which you are now called together upon, and engaged in, — I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this Nation from being an Aceldama, 'a field of blood,' if this doth not? It is, without doubt, 'this:' give the glory to God; for without this, it would prove* as great a plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this Nation in peace and quietness. — And what is the case of your Army 'withal?' A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather! [*Twenty-fifth of January.*] And yet a peaceable people, 'these soldiers;' seeking to serve you with their lives; judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of these Nations! Yea, he must be a man with a heart as hard as the weather who hath not a due sense of this! [*A severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.*] — —

So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your outward and present defence. [*This frame of Government; the Army is a part of that.*] And yet, at this day, — do but you judge! The Cavalier Party, and the several humours of unreasonable men 'of other sorts,' in those several ways, having 'continually' made

* "it would prove" is an impersonal verb; such as "it will rain," and *the like.*

battery at this defence ever since you got to enjoy peace — [*Sentence catches fire*] — — What have they made their business but this, To spread libellous Books; [*Their "Standard," "Killing no Murder," and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical Literature*] yea and pretend the "Liberty of the Subject" — [*Sentence gone again*] — ? — which really wiser men than they may pretend! For let me say this to you at once: I never look to see the People of England come into a just Liberty, if another 'Civil' War overtake us. I think, 'I' at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our "Liberty" is a consistency and agreement at this Meeting! — Therefore all I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice, to keep that concernment close to you; to uphold this Settlement 'now fallen-upon.' Which I have no cause but to think you are agreed to; and that you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken else, 'for my own part;' having taken this which is now the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in!

And therefore if you judge that all this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger — ? — 'A danger' which 'all manner of considerations,' besides goodnature and ingenuity 'themselves,' would move a stone to be sensible of! — Give us leave to consider a little, What will become of us, if our spirits should go *otherwise*, 'and break this Settlement?' If our spirits be dissatisfied, what will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months behind in pay; yea, an Army in Scotland near as much 'behind;' an Army in Ireland much more. And if

these things be considered, — I cannot doubt but they will be considered; — I say, judge what the state of Ireland is if free-quarter come upon the Irish People! [*Free-quarter must come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon!*] You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, 'Forty or Fifty thousand of them settled there;' who, I hope, are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish, transplanted to the West.* You have the Interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there, 'in these English settlements,' are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers run upon free-quarter there, — upon your English Planters, as they must, — the English Planters must quit the country through mere beggary: and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that Country into your hands, what can become of it, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country 'again' for a receptacle to the Spanish Interest? —

And hath Scotland been long settled? [*Middleton's Highland Insurrection, with its Mosstroopery and misery, is not dead three years yet.***] Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined Nation. [*Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with themselves and with all the world.*] — And yet in a way (I have spoken

* "All the Irish;" all the Malignant Irish, the ringleaders of the Popish Rebellion: Galway is here called "Galloway."

** Febr. 1654-5 (Whitlocke, p. 599).

with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful enough; — it hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort — [*The consequences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.*] — — The meaner sort 'in Scotland' live as well, and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your Government, as when they were under their own great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the Peasants of France. I am loath to speak anything which may reflect upon that Nation: but the middle sort of people do grow up there into such a substance as makes their lives comfortable, if not better than they were before. [*Scotland is prospering; has fair-play and ready-money; — prospering though sulky.*]

If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs that are in the midst of us: of the *united* Cavaliers; of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain; while we have to look upon ourselves as a *divided* people — [*Sentence off*] — A man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the name of a body of consistency, but in this Company who are met here! How can any man lay his hand on his heart, and 'permit himself to' talk of things, — [*Roots of Constitutional Government, "Other House," "House of Lords" and such like*] neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor of Reason; and draw one another off from considering of *these* things, — 'which are very palpable things!' I dare leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight, —

a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you, from abroad or at home! If such be our case abroad and at home, That our Being and Well-being, — our Well-being is not worth the naming comparatively, — I say, if such be our case, of our Being at home and abroad, That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and through want to maintain what is our Defence at Home, 'we stand exposed to such dangers;' and if through our mistake we shall be led off from the consideration of these things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about circumstances; and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry-on these things — ! — I confess I can look for nothing 'other,' I can say no other than what a foolish Book* expresseth, of one that having consulted everything, could hold to nothing; neither Fifth-Monarchy, Presbytery, nor Independency, nothing; but at length concludes, He is for nothing but an "orderly confusion!" And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits, — I speak of men going about who cannot tell *what* they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others —! [*An "orderly confusion," and general fire-consummation: what else is possible?*]

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you, in making this demonstration, — and I profess, not as a rhetorician! My business was to prove the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and the still unsatisfied spirits of the Cavaliers at Home, — who from the beginning of our Peace to

* Now rotting probably, or rotten, among the other Pamphletary rubbish, in the crypts of Public Dryasdust Collections, — all but this one *phrase of it*, here kept alive.

this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. And I say, if this be so, the truth, — I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it! [*Yea!*] And give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together! If these things be so, — should you meet tomorrow, and accord in all things tending to your preservation and your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed 'already' for your delivering yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you! —

We have had now Six Years of Peace, and have had an interruption of Ten Years *War*. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of War; and now God hath given us a new taste of the benefits of Peace. Have you not had such a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? [*Hah!*] Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall *we*, listen to delusions, to break and interrupt this Peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this Cause, as I believe you have been all, who can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in this world! [*Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.**] — I wonder how it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have Peace and the Gospel! [*What a tone!*] Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and

* He died in the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1660 itself, say the *Baronetages*. Worn to death, it is like, by the frightful vicissitudes and distracting excitement of those sad months.

just rights of this Nation; — not to *pretend* to them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the Nation! [*As yet there is one Hero-heart among you, ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding Chaos yet to be supreme. In a little while that too will be extinct; and then!*] Really, pretend what we will, if you run into *another* flood of blood and War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, be sensible of these things and lay them to heart! You have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! And may look upon them 'who would sow dissension,' whoever they may be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth,* as I remember: "*Mark* such as cause divisions and offences," and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you are upon, under any pretence whatsoever! —

I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; and I did it.** I am not ashamed of it at any time, [*Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, "word of God" as you well call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!*] — especially when I meet with men of such consideration as you. There you have one verse which I forgot. "I will hear what God the Lord will "speak: for He will speak peace unto His people, and

* Not "Corinth" properly, but Rome (*Romans* xvi. 17).
** The Eighty-fifth; antea, pp. 157 *et seqq.*

"to His saints; but let them not turn again to *folly*." Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a Civil War, — having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! Indeed, if we return again to "folly," let every man consider, If it be *not* like turning to destruction? If God shall unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another; and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts and tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this thing or that, as we have been saying, — [*The Sentence began as a positive, "if God shall;" but gradually turning on its axis, it has now got quite round into the negative side*] — and not prefer the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace, — it will be said of this poor Nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, 'It is all over with England!'

But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live, and am able, I shall be ready —

[Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tarbarrels, can call-in its Nell-Gwyn Defender of the Faith, — and make out a very notable Two-hundred Years under *his* guidance; and, finding itself now nearly *got* to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say. *He* is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide it farther according to their pleasure.]

— I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seemingly promising Union* which God hath wrought

* The new Frame of Government.

among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. I have taken my Oath [*In Westminster Hall, Twenty-sixth of June last*] to govern "according to the Laws" that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. [*Who would have "sought" it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures only. The "place" is no great things, I think; — with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the "place!" Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal Laws.*] I speak it before God, Angels, and Men: I DID NOT. You sought me for it, you brought me to it; and I took my Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be faithful to the Government. All those things were implied in my eye, in the Oath "to be faithful to this Government" upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall, — I must! — see it done, according to the Articles of Government. That every just Interest may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this Government! — [*And mean to continue administering it withal.*] — And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you. §

§ Burton, ii. 351-71.

His Highness, a few days after, on occasion of some Reply to a Message of his "concerning the state of the Public Moneys," — was formally requested by the Commons to furnish them with a Copy of this Speech:* he answered that he did not remember four lines of it in a piece, and that he could not furnish a Copy. Some Copy would nevertheless have been got up, had the Parliament continued sitting. Rushworth, Smythe, and "I" (the Writer of *Burton's Diary*), we, so soon as the Speech was done, went to York House; Fairfax's Town-house, where Historical John, brooding over endless Paper-masses, and doing occasional Secretary work, still lodges: here at York House we sat together till late, "comparing Notes of his Highness's Speech;" could not finish the business that night, our Notes being a little cramp. It was grown quite dark before his Highness had done; so that we could hardly see our pencils go, at the time.**

The Copy given here is from the *Pell Papers*, and in part from an earlier Original; first printed by Burton's Editor; and now reproduced, with slight alterations of the pointing &c., such as were necessary here and there to bring out the sense, but not such as could change anything that had the least title to remain unchanged.

SPEECH XVIII.

His Highness's last noble appeal, the words as of a strong great Captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck, produced no adequate effect. The dreary Debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on, trailing its slow length day after day; daily widening itself, too, into new dreariness, new questionability: a kind of pain to read even at this distance, and with view of the intemperate hot heads actually *stuck* on Temple Bar! For the man in "green oilskin hat with night-cap under it," the Duke of Ormond namely, who lodges at the Papist Chirurgeon's in Drury Lane, is very busy all this while.

* Thursday 28th Jan. 1657-8 (Parliamentary History, xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379).

** Burton, ii. 351.

And Fifth-Monarchy and other Petitions are getting concocted in the City, to a great length indeed; — and there are stirrings in the Army itself; — and, in brief, the English Hydra, cherished by the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, will shortly hiss sky-high again, if this continue!

As yet, however, there stands one strong Man between us and that issue. The strong Man gone, that issue, we may guess, will be inevitable; but he is not yet gone. For ten days more the dreary Debate has lasted. Various good Bills and Notices of Bills have been introduced; attempts on the part of well-affected Members to do some useful legislation here;* attempts which could not be accomplished. What could be accomplished was, to open the fountains of constitutional logic, and debate this question day after day. One or two intemperate persons, not excluded at the threshold, are of great moment in a Popular Assembly. The mind of which, if it have any mind, is one of the vaguest entities; capable, in a very singular degree, of being made to ferment, to freeze, to take fire, to develop itself in this shape or in that! The history of our Second Session, and indeed of these Oliverian Parliaments generally, is not exhilarating to the constitutional mind! —

But now on the tenth day of the Debate, with its noise growing ever noisier, on the 4th of February 1657-8, "about eleven in the morning," — while peppery Scott is just about to attempt yelping out some new second speech, and there are cries of "Spoken! spoken!" which Sir Arthur struggles to argue down, — arrives the Black Rod. — "The Black Rod stays!" cry some, while Sir Arthur is arguing for Scott. — "What care I for the Black Rod?" snarls he: "The Gentleman" (peppery Scott) "ought to be heard." — Black Rod, however, is heard first; signifies that "His Highness is in the Lords House, and desires to speak with you." Under way therefore! "Shall we take our Mace?" By all means, if you consider it likely to be useful for you!**

* Parliamentary History, xxi. 398-4.

** Burton, ii. 462 *et seqq.*; see also Tanner MSS. li. 1, for a more minute account.

They take their Mace; range themselves in due mass, in the "Other House," Lords House, or whatever they call it; and his Highness, with a countenance of unusual earnestness, sorrow, resolution and severity, says:

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, *I* desired the carrying-on the Affairs of the Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace, — which I desired might be improved.

That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you; who, in reference to the ancient Constitution ["*Which had Two Houses and a King*," — *though we do not in words mention that!*], did draw me to accept the place of Protector. ["*I was a kind of Protector already, I always understood; but let that pass. Certainly you invited me to become the Protector I now am, with Two Houses and other appendages, and there lies the gist of the matter at present.*"] There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein! ["*I did think even my first Protectorate was a successful kind of thing!*"] But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that then had the Legislative capacity: — certainly I did

look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good unto me! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, — I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep — [*Yes, your Highness; it had been infinitely quieter, healthier, freer. But it is gone forever: no woodsides now, and peaceful nibbling sheep, and great still thoughts, and glimpses of God "in the cool of the evening walking among the trees:" nothing but toil and trouble, double, double, till one's discharge arrive, and the Eternal Portals open! Nay even there by your woodside, you had not been happy; not you, — with thoughts going down to the Death-kingdoms, and Heaven so near you on this hand, and Hell so near you on that. Nay who would grudge a little temporary Trouble, when he can do a large spell of eternal Work? Work that is true, and will last through all Eternity! Complain not, your Highness! — His Highness does not complain. "To have kept a flock of sheep," he says*] — rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good.

I did tell you, at a Conference* concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power, and prevent tumultuary and popular spirits: and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men who shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Parties that they value, but a Christian and an Eng-

* One of the Kingship, Conferences of which there is no Report.

lish Interest! Men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but a new force added to you,* while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these terms; — and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low; where virtue, honesty, piety and justice are omitted: — I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you! But if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. [*There is an innocency and childlike goodness in these poor sentences, which speaks to us in spite of rhetoric.*]

Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the Governor and Governed; unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto! Upon that I took an Oath [*On the Twenty-sixth of June last*], and they [*On the Twentieth of January last, at their long Table in the Anteroom*] took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine: — and did not every one know upon what condition he swore? God knows, *I* took it upon the conditions expressed in the 'Act of' Government! And I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be "advised by the Two Houses of Parliament." And we standing unsettled till we arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there were not constituted "Hereditary Kings;" 'no,' the Power

* "but to themselves," however helplessly, must mean this; and a good reporter would have substituted this.

consisteth in the Two Houses and myself. — I do not say, that was the meaning of your Oath to *you*. That were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge between you and me! If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion 'as to minor improvements.'

God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen [*'Pointing to his right hand," says the Report*], or Lords, or whatsoever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to *you*. — You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity* by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what; — and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that might rule all! [*Intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and such like: very inadequate they to "rule;" inadequate to keep their own heads on their shoulders, if they were not* RULED, *they!*] And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing. — And hath that man been "true to this Nation," whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been made among the Army, to break and divide

* "of authority" is delicately understood, but not expressed.

us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will! [*No, your Highness; they have not.*] These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots' game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. ["*I, for my share:*" *Yea!*]

That which I told you in the Banqueting-House 'ten days ago' was true, That there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an Army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eyewitnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a tumulting, — [*City Petitions are mounting very high, — as perhaps Sir Arthur and others know!*] what if I said, Into a rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. [*Noble scorn and indignation is gradually getting the better of every other feeling in his Highness and us.*]

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a "Commonwealth;" but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. [*What a cold qualm in some conscious heart that listens to this! Let him tremble, every joint of him; — or not visibly tremble; but cower home to his place, and repent; and remember in whose hand his beggarly existence in this world lies!*] And what is

like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion? — [*The next and final Sentence is partly on fire*] — And if this be so, I do assign 'it' to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, — [*Sentence now all beautifully blazing*], I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT! And let God be judge between you and me!§

Figure the looks of Haselrig, Scott and Company! "The "Mace was clapt under a cloak; the Speaker withdrew, and "*exit Parliamentum*," the Talking-Apparatus vanishes.* "God be judge between you and me!"—"Amen!" answered they,** thought they, indignantly; and sank into eternal silence.

It was high time; for in truth the Hydra, on every side, is stirring its thousand heads. "Believe me," says Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, writing to an Official acquaintance next week, "believe me, it was of such necessity, that if their Session had "continued but two or three days longer all had been in blood "both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's account."***

His Highness before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the Anarchic Ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-Monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more with all his faculty, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, to front this Hydra, and trample it down once again.† On Saturday he summons his Officers, his Acting-Apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them "in a Speech two hours long" what kind of Hydra it is; asks, Shall it conquer us, involve us

§ Burton, ii. 465-70. * Ibid. ii. 464.

** Tradition in various modern Books (Parliamentary History, xxi. 203; Note to Burton, ii. 470); not supported, that I can find, by any contemporary witness.

*** Hartlib in London (11th Feb. 1657-8) to Moreland at Geneva; printed in Parliamentary History, xxi. 205.

† *Appendix, No.* 33.

in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts, No, it shall not! "We will stand and fall with your Highness, we will live and die with you!"* — It is the last duel this Oliver has with any Hydra fomented into life by a Talking-Apparatus; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done.

One day, in the early days of March next, his Highness said to Lord Broghil: An old friend of yours is in Town, the Duke of Ormond, now lodged in Drury Lane, at the Papist Surgeon's there: you had better tell him to be gone!** — Whereat his Lordship stared; found it a fact, however; and his Grace of Ormond did go with exemplary speed, and got again to Bruges and the Sacred Majesty, with report That Cromwell had many enemies, but that the rise of the Royalists was moonshine. And on the 12th of the month his Highness had the Mayor and Common Council with him in a body at Whitehall; and "in a Speech at large" explained to them that his Grace of Ormond was gone only "on Tuesday last;" that there were Spanish Invasions, Royalist Insurrections and Frantic-Anabaptist Insurrections rapidly ripening; — that it would well beseem the City of London to have its Militia in good order. To which the Mayor and Common Council, "being very sensible thereof," made zealous response*** by speech and by act. In a word, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, and an Oliver Protector now at the head of the Acting-Apparatus, no Insurrection, in the eyes of reasonable persons, had any chance. The leading Royalists shrank close into their privacies again, — considerable numbers of them had to shrink into durance in the Tower. Among which latter class, his Highness, justly incensed, and "considering," as Thurloe says, "that it was not fit there should be a Plot of this kind every winter," had determined that a High Court of Justice should take cognisance of some. High Court of Justice is

* Hartlib's Letter, *ubi supra*.
** Godwin, iv. 508; Budgel's Lives of the Boyles, p. 49; &c.
*** Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 171.)

accordingly nominated * as the Act of Parliament prescribes: among the parties marked for trial by it are Sir Henry Slingsby, long since prisoner for Penruddock's business, and the Reverend Dr. Hewit, a man of much forwardness in Royalism. Sir Henry, prisoner in Hull and acquainted with the Chief Officers there, has been treating with them for betrayal of the place to his Majesty; has even, to that end, given one of them a Majesty's Commission; for whose Spanish Invasion such a Haven and Fortress would have been extremely convenient. Reverend Dr. Hewit, preaching by sufferance, according to the old ritual "in St. Gregoy's Church near Paul's," to a select disaffected audience, has farther seen good to distinguish himself very much by secular zeal in this business of the Royalist Insurrection and Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion; — which has now come to nothing, and left poor Dr. Hewit in a most questionable position. Of these two, and of others, a High Court of Justice shall take cognisance.

The Insurrection having no chance in the eyes of reasonable Royalists, and they in consequence refusing to lead it, the large body of *un*reasonable Royalists now in London City or gathering thither decide, with indignation, That they will try it on their own score, and lead it themselves. Hands to work, then, ye unreasonable Royalists; pipe, All hands! Saturday the 15th of May, that is the night appointed: To rise that Saturday Night; beat drums for "Royalist Apprentices," "fire houses at the Tower," slay this man, slay that, and bring matters to a good issue. Alas, on the very edge of the appointed hour, as usual, we are all seized; the ringleaders of us are all seized, "at the Mermaid in Cheapside," — for Thurloe and his Highness have long known what we were upon! Barkstead Governor of the Tower "marches into the City with five drakes," at the rattle of which every Royalist Apprentice, and party implicated, shakes in his shoes: — and this also has gone to vapour, leaving only for result certain new individuals of the Civic class to give account of it to the High Court of Justice.

* 27th April 1658. Act of Parliament, with List of the Names, is in Scobell, ii. 372-5: see also Commons Journals, vii. 427 (Sept. 1656).

Tuesday, 25*th May* 1658, the High Court of Justice sat; a formidable Sanhedrim of above a Hundred-and-thirty heads, consisting of "all the Judges," chief Law Officials, and others named in the Writ according to Act of Parliament; — sat "in "Westminster Hall, at Nine in the morning, for the Trial of "Sir Henry Slingsby Knight, John Hewit Doctor of Divinity," and three others whom we may forget.* Sat day after day till all were judged. Poor Sir Henry, on the first day, was condemned; he pleaded what he could, poor gentleman, a very constant Royalist all along; but the Hull business was too palpable; he was condemned to die. Reverend Dr. Hewit, whose proceedings also had become very palpable, refused to plead at all; refused even "to take off his hat," says Carrion Heath, "till the officer was coming to do it for him;" "had a Paper of Demurrers prepared by the learned Mr. Prynne," who is now again doing business this way; — "conducted himself not very wisely," says Bulstrode. He likewise received sentence of death. The others, by narrow missing, escaped; by good luck, or the Protector's mercy, suffered nothing.

As to Slingsby and Hewit, the Protector was inexorable. Hewit has already taken a very high line: let him persevere in it! Slingsby was the Lord Fauconberg's Uncle, married to his Aunt Bellasis; but that could not stead him, — perhaps that was but a new monition to be strict with him. The Commonwealth of England and its Peace are not nothing! These Royalist Plots every winter, deliveries of garrisons to Charles Stuart, and reckless "usherings of us into blood," shall end! Hewit and Slingsby suffered on Tower Hill, on Monday 8th June; amid the manifold rumour and emotion of men. Of the City Insurrectionists six were condemned; three of whom were executed, three pardoned. And so the High Court of Justice dissolved itself; and at this and not at more expense of blood, the huge Insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent within its caves again.

Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know, —

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 172).

one guesses rather in the negative. The Royalist Cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises "on the word of a Christian King," had naturally sunk very low. Some twelvemonth hence, with a Commonwealth not now under Cromwell, but only under the impulse of Cromwell, a Christian King hastening down to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, where France and Spain were making Peace, found one of the coldest receptions. Cardinal Mazarin "sent his coaches and guards "a day's journey to meet Lockhart the Commonwealth Am- "bassador;" but refused to meet the Christian King at all; would not even meet Ormond except as if by accident, "on the public road," to say that there was no hope. The Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, was civiller in manner; but as to Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasions or the like, he also decisively shook his head.* The Royalist Cause was as good as desperate in England; a melancholy Reminiscence, fast fading away into the realm of shadows. Not till Puritanism sank of its own accord, could Royalism rise again. But Puritanism, the King of it once away, fell loose very naturally in every fibre, — fell into *Kinglessness*, what we call Anarchy; crumbled down, ever faster, for Sixteen Months, in mad suicide, and universal clashing and collision; proved, by trial after trial, that there lay not in it either Government or so much as Self-government any more; that a Government of England by *it* was henceforth an impossibility. Amid the general wreck of things, all Government threatening now to be impossible, the Reminiscence of Royalty rose again, "Let us take refuge in the Past, the Future is not possible!" — and Major-General Monk crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with results which are well known.

Results which we will not quarrel with, very mournful as they have been! If it please Heaven, these Two-hundred Years of universal Cant in Speech, with so much of Cotton-spinning, Coal-boring, Commercing, and other valuable Sincerity of Work going-on the while, shall not be quite lost to us! Our Cant will vanish, our whole baleful cunningly-compacted Universe of Cant, as does a heavy Nightmare Dream.

* Kennet, iii. 214. Clarendon, iii. 914.

We shall awaken; and find ourselves in a world greatly *widened*. — Why Puritanism could not continue? My friend, Puritanism was *not* the Complete Theory of this immense Universe; no, only a part thereof! To me it seems, in my hours of hope, as if the Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did! We will not quarrel with the Destinies; we will work as we can towards fulfilment of them.

But in these same June days of the year 1658, while Hewit and Slingsby lay down their heads on Tower Hill, and the English Hydra finds that its Master is still here, there arrive the news of Dunkirk alluded-to above: Dunkirk gloriously taken, Spaniards gloriously beaten: victories and successes abroad; which are a new illumination to the Lord Protector in the eyes of England. Splendid Nephews of the Cardinal, Manzinis, Ducs de Crequi, come across the Channel to congratulate "the most invincible of Sovereigns;" young Louis Fourteenth himself would have come, had not the attack of small-pox prevented.* With whom the elegant Lord Fauconberg and others busy themselves: their pageantry and gilt coaches, much gazed-at by the idler multitudes, need not detain us here.

The Lord Protector, his Parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well; visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible abroad and at home. He looks with confidence towards summoning a new Parliament, of juster disposition towards Puritan England and him.** With a Parliament, or if extremity of need arrive, without a Parliament and in spite of Parliaments, the Puritan Gospel Cause, sanctioned by a Higher than Parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this Man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lie low, shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of Hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn Sword, shall Puritanism

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 172-3; 15th-21st June 1658.
** Thurloe, vii. 84 99, 128, &c. (April, May 1658.)

stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of Sublunary Space, in this section of swift-flowing Time; that noble, perilous, painful function: and he has manfully done it, — and is now near ending it, and getting honourably relieved from it.

LETTER CCXXV.

THE poor Protestants of Piedmont, it appears, are again in a state of grievance, in a state of peril. The Lord Protector, in the thickest press of domestic anarchies, finds time to think of these poor people and their case. Here is a Letter to Ambassador Lockhart, who is now at Dunkirk Siege, in the French King and Cardinal's neighbourhood: a generous pious Letter; dictated to Thurloe, partly perhaps of Thurloe's composition, but altogether of Oliver's mind and sense; — fit enough, since it so chances, to conclude our Series here.

Among the Lockhart Letters in *Thurloe*, which are full of Dunkirk in these weeks, I can find no trace of this new Piedmont business: but in Milton's Latin State-Letters, among the *Literæ Oliverii Protectoris*, there are Three, to the French King, to the Swiss Cantons, to the Cardinal, which all treat of it. The first of which, were it only as a sample of the Milton-Oliver Diplomacies, we will here copy, and translate that all may read it. An emphatic State-Letter; which Oliver Cromwell meant, and John Milton thought and wrote into words; not unworthy to be read. It goes by the same Express as the Letter to Lockhart himself; and is very specially referred to there:

"*Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi, Ludovico Galliarum Regi.*

"SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMEQUE REX, AMICE AC FŒDERATE
"AUGUSTISSIME,

"*Meminisse potest Majestas Vestra, quo tempore inter nos de*
"*renovando Fœdere agebatur (quod optimis auspiciis initum multa*
"*utriusque Populi commoda, multâ Hostium communium exinde*
"*mala testantur), accidisse miseram illam Convallensium Occisio-*

"nem; quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam Vestræ "misericordiæ atque tutelæ, summo cum ardore animi ac misera- "tione, commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur Maje- "statem Vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro eâ "quâ apud Ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel "gratiâ: Nos certè aliique multi Principes ac Civitates, legationi- "bus, literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus.

"Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis Trucidatio- "nem, Pax tandem data est; vel potiùs inductæ Pacis nomine "hostilitas quædam tectior. Conditiones Pacis vestro in oppido "Pinarolii sunt latæ: duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque "inopes, dira omnia atque immania perpessi, facile acquiescerent, "modò iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur. Non statur; sed enim "earum quoque singularum falsâ interpretatione variisque diver- "ticulis, fides eluditur ac violatur. Antiquis sedibus multi dejici- "untur, Religio Patria multis interdicitur; Tributa nova exigun- "tur; Arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebrò erum- "pentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant. Ad hæc nuper "novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos "Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur: ut "omnia nunc rursùs videantur ad illorum internecionem misero- "rum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit.

"Quod ergò per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ Fœdus "nobiscum et amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud "Christianissimi tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tan- "tam sæviendi licentiam, non dico Principi cuiquam (neque enim "in ullum Principem, multò minus in ætatem illius Principis tene- "ram, aut in muliebrem Matris animum, tanta sævitia cadere pot- "est), sed sacerrimis illis Sicariis, ne permiseris. Qui cum Christi "Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui "venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, Ejus miltissimi No- "mine atque Institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutun- "tur. Eripe qui potes, quique in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot "supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii "sanguinem rursùs sitiunt, sucque invidiam crudelitatis in Prin- "cipes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec Titulos "tuos aut Regni fines istâ invidiâ, nec Evangelium Christi pacatis-

"*simum istâ crudelitate fœdari, te regnante patiaris. Memineris*
"*hos ipsos Avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi Dedititios*
"*fuisse; cùm Diguierius per ea Loca, quà etiam commodissimus in*
"*Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentem victor est*
"*insecutus. Deditionis illius Instrumentum in Actis Regni vestri*
"*Publicis etiamnum extat: in quo exceptum atque cautum inter*
"*alia est, ne cui posteà Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem con-*
"*ditionibus quibus eos Avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit.*
"*Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices re-*
"*quirunt. Tui esse quam cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione ali-*
"*quâ si fieri possit, malint atque optârint: id si non licet, patro-*
"*cinio saltem, miseratione atque perfugio.*

"*Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad*
"*te confugientes ne rejicias: sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis*
"*rationibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide à Majori-*
"*bus datâ, pietate, regiâque animi benignitate ac magnitudine per-*
"*moveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque*
"*integra tua erit, et ipse Patrem Misericordiæ ejusque Filium*
"*Christum Regem, cujus Nomen atque Doctrinam ab immanitate*
"*nefariâ vindicaveris, eò magis faventem tibi et propitium per*
"*omnem vitam experieris.*

"*Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum*
"*hominum Christianorum tutandam salutem, Vestrumque verum*
"*decus, Majestati Vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.*

"'*Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus*

"'OLIVERIUS PROTECTOR REIP. ANGLIÆ,' &c.

"*Westmonasterio, Maii '26° die,' anno* 1658."*

Of which here is a Version the most literal we can make:

"*To the most serene and potent Prince, Louis, King of France.*

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, MOST CLOSE FRIEND AND ALLY,

"Your Majesty may recollect that during the negotiation "between us for the renewing of our League** (which many "advantages to both Nations, and much damage to their

* The Prose Works of John Milton (London, 1833), p. 815.
** June, 1655: antea, vol. iii. p. 321.

"common Enemies, resulting therefrom, now testify to have "been very wisely done), — there fell out that miserable "Slaughter of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on all "sides deserted and trodden down, we, with the utmost "earnestness and pity, recommended to your mercy and pro- "tection. Nor do we think Your Majesty, for your own part, "has been wanting in an office so pious and indeed so human, "in so far as either by authority or favour you might have "influence with the Duke of Savoy: we certainly, and many "other Princes and States, by embassies, by letters, by "entreaties directed thither, have not been wanting.

"After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no "age nor either sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, "under the specious name of Peace, a certain more disguised "hostility. The terms of the Peace were settled in your Town "of Pignerol: hard terms; but such as those poor People, "indigent and wretched, after suffering all manner of cruelties "and atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and "unjust as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not adhered "to: those terms are broken; the purport of every one of them "is, by false interpretation and various subterfuges, eluded "and violated. Many of these People *are* ejected from their "Old Habitations; their Native Religion is prohibited to "many: new Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been "built over them, out of which soldiers frequently sallying "plunder or kill whomsoever they meet. Moreover, new "Forces have of late been privily got ready against them; "and such as follow the Romish Religion are directed to with- "draw from among them within a limited time: so that every- "thing seems now again to point towards the extermination of "all among those unhappy People, whom the former Massacre "had left.

"Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest "thee, by thy right-hand which pledged a League and "Friendship with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of "Most Christian, — permit not to be done: nor let such license "of savagery, I do not say to any Prince (for indeed no cruelty

"like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less "into the tender years of that young Prince, or into the "woman's heart of his Mother), but to those most accursed "Assassins, be given. Who while they profess themselves the "servants and imitators of Christ our Saviour, who came into "this world that He might save sinners, abuse His most merci- "ful Name and Commandments to the cruellest slaughterings. "Snatch, thou who art able, and who in such an elevation art "worthy to be able, those poor Suppliants of thine from the "hands of Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again "athirst for it, and think convenient to turn the discredit of "their own cruelty upon their Prince's score. Suffer not either "thy Titles and the Environs of thy Kingdom to be soiled with "that discredit, or the peaceable Gospel of Christ by that "cruelty, in thy Reign. Remember that these very People "became Subjects of thy Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to "Protestants; when Lesdiguières victoriously pursued him of "Savoy across the Alps, through those same Valleys,* where "indeed the most commodious pass to Italy is. The Instru- "ment of that their Paction and Surrender is yet extant in the "Public Acts of your Kingdom: in which this among other "things is specified and provided against, That these People "of the Valleys should not thereafter be delivered over to any "one except on the same conditions under which thy invin- "cible Ancestor had received them into fealty. This promised "protection they now implore; promise of thy Ancestor they "now, from thee the Grandson, suppliantly demand. To be "thine rather than his whose they now are, if by any means of "exchange it could be done, they would wish and prefer: if "that may not be, thine at least by succour, by commiseration "and deliverance.

"There are likewise reasons of state which might give in- "ducement not to reject these People of the Valleys flying for "shelter to thee: but I would not have thee, so great a King "as thou art, be moved to the defence of the unfortunate by "other reasons than the promise of thy Ancestors, and thy

* In 1592: Hénault, Abrégé Chronologique (Paris, 1774), ii. 597.

"own piety and royal benignity and greatness of mind. So "shall the praise and fame of this most worthy action be un-"mixed and clear; and thyself shalt find the Father of Mercy, "and His Son Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine "thou shalt have vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and "propitious through the course of life.

"May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of "so many most innocent Christian men, and for your true "honour, dispose Your Majesty to this determination.

"Your Majesty's most friendly

"OLIVER PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

"Westminster, 26th May 1658."

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador at the French Court: These.'

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 26th May 1658.

The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion, — and that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France in their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his Majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to profess very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations, — are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction be-

getting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed Members of Christ, — do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care. Desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances. Which, the truth is, are almost inexpressible. For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish Adversaries, that, — as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the Inhabitants beyond the River Pelice, out of those their ancient Possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together, — they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things:

First, — They forcibly prohibit all manner of Public Exercises* at San Giovanni, which, notwithstanding, the Inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind: and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the Natives men fitly qualified and

* Means "Public Worship."

of abilities for Ministerial Functions to supply so much as one half of their Churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies, — their Popish Enemies take hold of this advantage; and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep.

3. To this we add, their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the Valleys. And thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.

4. And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of Commerce and Trade with their Popish neighbours; that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families: and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.

5. Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out Orders whereby to force the poor Protestants To sell their Lands and Houses to their Popish neighbours: whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.

6. Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre; contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassadors of the

Evangelical Cantons. Where they have also placed Commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts; without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same. If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours.

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; which hath caused the poor People, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his Dominions.

These are, in short, the grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor People even at this very day. Whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible; and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders 'to' his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, To act vigorously in their behalf. Our Letter,* which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains several reasons in it which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations; representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor,

* Milton's, given above.

with the Ambassadors of those very People, in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguières; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic Copy in your own hands. Whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors To maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions. — Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that People, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his Dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, That the King of France would be pleased to make an Exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys; resigning over to him some other part of his Dominions in lieu thereof, — as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse.* Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a Passage for his Forces into Italy, — which 'Passage,' if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.

By what we have already said, you see our intentions; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct; and rest,

'Your friend,'

OLIVER P.§

* In 1601 (Hénault, ii. 612).

§ Ayscough mss., no. 4107, f. 89.

Lockhart, both General and Ambassador in these months, is, as we hinted, infinitely busy with his share in the Siege of Dunkirk, now just in its agony; and before this Letter can well arrive, has done his famous feat of Fighting, which brings Turenne and him their victory, among the sandhills there.* Much to the joy of Cardinal and King; who will not readily refuse him in any reasonable point at present. There came no new Massacre upon the poor People of the Valleys; their grievances were again "settled," scared away for a season, by negotiation.

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR.

There remain no more *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* for us; the above is the last of them of either kind. As a Speaker to men, he takes his leave of the world, in these final words addressed to his Second Parliament, on the 4th of February 1657-8: "God be judge between you and me!" — So was it appointed by the Destinies and the Oblivions; these were his last public words.

Other Speeches, in that crisis of Oliver's affairs, we have already heard of; "Speech of two hours" to his Officers in Whitehall; Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, in the same place, on the same subject: but they have not been reported, or the report of them has not come down to us. There were domestic Letters also, as we still find, written in those same tumultuous weeks; Letters to the Earl of Warwick, on occasion of the death of his Grandson, the Protector's Son-in-law. For poor young Mr. Rich, whom we saw wedded in November last, is dead.** He died on the twelfth day after that Dissolution of the Parliament; while Oliver and the Commonwealth are wrestling against boundless Anarchies, Oliver's own Household has its visitations and dark days. Poor little Frances Cromwell, in the fourth month of her marriage, still only about seventeen, she finds herself suddenly a widow; and Hampton Court has become a house of mourning. Young Rich

* Thursday, 3d June 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 155-6).
** 16th Feb. 1657-8 (Newspapers in Cromwelliana, p. 170).

was much lamented. Oliver condoled with the Grandfather "in seasonable and sympathising Letters;" for which the brave old Earl rallies himself to make some gratefullest Reply;* — "Cannot enough confess my obligation, much less discharge "it, for your seasonable and sympathising Letters; which, "besides the value they derive from so worthy a hand, express "such faithful affections, and administer such Christian ad- "vices as renders them beyond measure dear to me." Blessings, and noble eulogies, the outpouring of a brave old heart, conclude this Letter of Warwick's. He himself died shortly after;** a new grief to the Protector.—The Protector was delivering the Commonwealth from Hydras and fighting a world-wide battle, while he wrote those Letters on the death of young Rich. If by chance they still lie hidden in the archives of some kinsman of the Warwicks, they may yet be disimprisoned and made audible. Most probably they too are lost. And so we have now nothing more; — and Oliver has nothing more. His Speakings, and also his Actings, all his manifold Strugglings, more or less victorious, to utter the great God's-Message that was in him,— have here what we call ended. This Summer of 1658, likewise victorious after struggle, is his last in our World of Time. Thenceforth he enters the Eternities; and rests upon his arms *there*.

Oliver's look was yet strong; and young for his years,*** which were Fifty-nine last April. The "Three-score and ten years," the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and in those of others there, might have been anticipated for him: Ten Years more of Life; — which, we may compute, would have given another History to all the Centuries of England. But it was not to be so, it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often "indisposed" the spring before

* Earl of Warwick to the Lord Protector, date 11th March 1657-8; printed in *Godwin*, iv, 528.

** 19th April 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85).

*** Heath.

last. His course of life had not been favourable to health! "A burden too heavy for man!" as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil; inconceivable labour, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near Twenty years now, had done their part: those robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared,* had been gradually eaten out. Like a Tower strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined; which has not long to stand; the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden. —

The Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi, with their splendours, and congratulations about Dunkirk, interesting to the street-populations and general public, had not yet withdrawn, when at Hampton Court there had begun a private scene, of much deeper and quite opposite interest there. The Lady Claypole, Oliver's favourite Daughter, a favourite of all the world, had fallen sick we know not when; lay sick now, — to-death, as it proved. Her disease was of internal female nature; the painfullest and most harassing to mind and sense, it is understood, that falls to the lot of a human creature. Hampton Court we can fancy once more, in those July days, a house of sorrow; pale Death knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. "She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit." Yes: — and in the depths of the old Centuries, we see a pale anxious Mother, anxious Husband, anxious weeping Sisters, a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds. 'For the last fourteen days' his Highness has been by her bedside at Hampton Court, unable to attend to any public business whatever.** Be still, my Child; trust thou yet in God: in the waves of the Dark River, there too is He a God of help! — On the 6th day of August she lay dead; at rest forever. My young, my beautiful, my brave! She is taken from me; I am left bereaved of her. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the Name of the Lord! —

"His Highness," says Harvey,*** "being at Hampton Court,

* Doctor Bates, on examination *post mortem*.

** Thurloe, vii. 295 (27th July 1658).

*** A Collection of several Passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the Time of his Sickness; wherein is related many of

"sickened a little before the Lady Elizabeth died. Her decease "was on Friday 6th August 1658; she having lain long under "great extremity of bodily pain, which, with frequent and "violent convulsion-fits, brought her end. But as to his "Highness, it was observed that his sense of her outward "misery, in the pains she endured, took deep impression upon "him; who indeed was ever a most indulgent and tender "Father; — his affections "too" being regulated and bounded "by such Christian wisdom and prudence, as did eminently "shine in filling-up not only that relation of a Father, but "also all other relations; wherein he was a most rare-and "singular example. And no doubt but the sympathy of his "spirit with his sorely afflicted and dying Daughter" did break him down at this time; "considering also," — innumerable other considerations of sufferings and toils, "which made "me often wonder he was able to hold-up so long; except" indeed "that he was borne up by a Supernatural Power at a "more than ordinary rate. As a mercy to the truly Christian "World, and to us of these Nations, had we been worthy of "him!" —

The same authority, who unhappily is not chronological, adds elsewhere this little picture, which we must take with us: "At Hampton Court, a few days after the death of the Lady "Elizabeth, which touched him nearly, — being then himself "under bodily distempers, forerunners of that Sickness which "was to death, and in his bedchamber, — he called for his "Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, "with others, present, To read unto him that passage in "*Philippians* Fourth; '*Not that I speak in respect of want: for I "have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. "I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Every-"where, and by all things, I am instructed; both to be full and to "be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things,*

his Expressions upon his Deathbed, together with his Prayer within two or three Days before his Death. Written by one that was then Groom of his Bedchamber. (King's Pamphlets, sm. 4to, no. 792, art. 22; London, 9th June 1659.)

"*through Christ which strengtheneth me.*'* Which read, — said "he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them: "'This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest Son'" poor Robert** "'died; which went as a dagger to my heart, "indeed it did.' And then repeating the words of the text "himself, and reading the tenth and eleventh verses, of Paul's "contentation, and submission to the will of God in all con- "ditions, — said he: 'It's true, Paul, *you* have learned this, "and attained to this measure of grace: but what shall *I* do? "Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! "I find it so!' But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where "Paul saith, '*I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth "me*,' — then faith began to work, and his heart to find support "and comfort, and he said thus to himself, 'He that was "Paul's Christ is my Christ too!' And so drew waters out of "the well of Salvation."

In the same dark days, occurred George Fox's third and last interview with Oliver. Their first interview we have seen. The second, which had fallen out some two years ago, did not prosper quite so well. George, riding into Town "one even- ing," with some "Edward Pyot" or other broadbrimmed man, espied the Protector "at Hyde Park Corner among his Guards," and made up to his carriage-window, in spite of opposition; and was altogether cordially welcomed there. But on the following day, at Whitehall, the Protector "spake lightly;" he sat down loosely "on a table," and "spake light things to me," — in fact, rather quizzed me; finding my enormous sacred Self-confidence none of the least of my attainments!*** Such had been our second interview; here now is the third and last. — George dates nothing; and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop: but we judge it may have been about the time when the Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi were parading in their gilt coaches, That George and two Friends "going out of Town,"

* Philippians, iv. 11, 12, 13.

** A blank in the Pamphlet here: not "Oliver" as hitherto supposed (see vol. i. p. 188), but "Robert" (ibid. p. 87): see vol. i. pp. 124, 188.

*** Fox's Journal, i. 381, 2.

on a summer day, "two of Hacker's men" had met them, — taken them, brought them to the Mews. "Prisoners there a while:" — but the Lord's power was over Hacker's men; they had to let us go. Whereupon:

"The same day, taking boat I went down" (*up*) "to King-"ston, and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the "Protector about the Sufferings of Friends. I met him riding "into Hampton-Court Park; and before I came to him, as he "rode at the head of his Lifeguard, I saw and felt a waft" (*whiff*) "of death go forth against him." —,— Or in favour of him, George? His life, if thou knew it, has not been a merry thing for this man, now or heretofore! I fancy he has been looking, this long while, to give it up, whenever the Commander-in-chief required. To quit his laborious sentry-post; honourably lay-up his arms, and be gone to his rest: — all Eternity to rest in, O George! Was thy own life merry, for example, in the hollow of the tree; clad permanently in leather? And does kingly purple, and governing refractory worlds instead of stitching coarse shoes, make it merrier? The waft of death is not against *him*, I think, — perhaps against thee, and me, and others, O George, when the Nell-Gwyn Defender and Two Centuries of all-victorious Cant have come in upon us! My unfortunate George — — "a waft of death go "forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a "dead man. After I had laid the Sufferings of Friends before "him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak "to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to "Kingston; and, the next day, went up to Hampton Court to "speak farther with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was "one that waited on him, told me the Doctors were not willing "that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never "saw him more."*

Friday, the 20th of August 1658, this was probably the day on which George Fox saw Oliver riding into Hampton Park with his Guards, for the last time. That Friday, as we find, his Highness seemed much better: but on the morrow a sad

* Fox's Journal, pp. 485, 6.

change had taken place; feverish symptoms, for which the Doctors rigorously prescribed quiet. Saturday to Tuesday the symptoms continued ever worsening: a kind of tertian ague, "bastard tertian" as the old Doctors name it; for which it was ordered that his Highness should return to Whitehall, as to a more favourable air in that complaint. On Tuesday accordingly he quitted Hampton Court; — never to see it more.

"His time was come," says Harvey; "and neither prayers "nor tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and "continue him longer to us. Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, "as was observed, in a more than ordinary way. Besides "many a secret sigh, — secret and unheard by men, yet like "the cry of Moses, more loud, and strongly laying hold on "God, than many spoken supplications. All which, — the "hearts of God's People being thus mightily stirred up, — did "seem to beget confidence in some, and hopes in all; yea "some thoughts in himself, that God would restore him."

"Prayers public and private!" they are worth imagining to ourselves. Meetings of Preachers, Chaplains, and Godly Persons; "Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, with a company of others, in an adjoining room;" in Whitehall, and elsewhere over religious London and England, fervent outpourings of many a loyal heart. For there were hearts to whom the nobleness of this man was known; and his worth to the Puritan Cause was evident. Prayers, — strange enough to us; in a dialect fallen obsolete, forgotten now. Authentic wrestlings of ancient Human Souls, — who were alive then, with their affections, awe-struck pieties; with their Human Wishes, risen to be *transcendent*, hoping to prevail with the Inexorable. All swallowed now in the depths of dark Time; which is full of such, since the beginning! — Truly it is a great scene of World-History, this in old Whitehall: Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end. The exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great Light, one of our few authentic Solar Luminaries, going down now amid the clouds of Death. Like the

setting of a great victorious Summer Sun; its course now finished. "*So stirbt ein Held*," says Schiller, "So dies a Hero! Sight worthy to be worshipped!" — He died, this Hero Oliver, in Resignation to God; as the Brave have all done. "We could not be more desirous he should abide," says the pious Harvey, "than he was content and willing to be gone." The struggle lasted, amid hope and fear, for ten days. — Some small miscellaneous traits, and confused gleanings of last-words; and then our poor History ends.

Oliver, we find, spoke much of "the Covenants;" which indeed are the grand axis of all, in that Puritan Universe of his. Two Covenants; one of Works, with fearful Judgment for our short-comings therein; one of Grace and unspeakable mercy; — gracious Engagements, "Covenants," which the Eternal God has vouchsafed to make with His feeble creature Man. Two; and by Christ's Death they have become One: there for Oliver is the divine solution of this our Mystery of Life.* "They were Two," he was heard ejaculating: "Two, "but put into One before the Foundation of the World!" And again: "It is holy and true, it is holy and true, it is holy and "true! — Who made it holy and true? The Mediator of the "Covenant!" And again: "The Covenant is but One. Faith "in the Covenant is my only support. And if I believe not, "He abides faithful!" When his Children and Wife stood weeping round him, he said: "Love not this world. I say "unto you, it is not good that you should love this world!" No. "Children, live like Christians: — I leave you the Cove-"nant to feed upon!" Yea, my brave one; even so! The Covenant, and eternal Soul of Covenants, remains sure to all the faithful: deeper than the Foundations of this World; earlier than they, and more lasting than they! —

Look also at the following; dark hues and bright; immortal light beams struggling amid the black vapours of Death. Look; and conceive a great sacred scene, the sacred-

* Much intricate intense reasoning to this effect, on this subject, in Owen's Works, among others.

est this world sees; — and think of it, do not speak of it, in these mean days which have no sacred word. "Is there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?" moaned he once. Many hearts are praying, O wearied one! "Man can do nothing," rejoins he; "God can do what He will."— Another time, again thinking of the Covenant, "Is there none that will come and praise God," whose mercies endure for ever! —

Here also are ejaculations caught up at intervals, undated, in those final days: "Lord, Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works!" — Once he was heard saying, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!"* "This was spoken three times," says Harvey; "his repetitions usually being very weighty, and with great vehemency of spirit." Thrice over he said this; looking into the Eternal Kingdoms: "A fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!" — — But again: "All the Promises of God are in *Him:* yes, and in Him "Amen; to the glory of God by us, — by *us* in Jesus Christ." — — "The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of His "pardon, and His love, as my soul can hold." — "I think I am "the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or rather, am "beloved of God." — "I am a conqueror, and more than a "conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me!"**

So pass, in the sickroom, in the sickbed, these last heavy uncertain days. "The Godly Persons had great assurances of a return to their Prayers:" transcendent Human Wishes find in their own echo a kind of answer! They gave his Highness also some assurance that his life would be lengthened. Hope was strong in many to the very end.

On Monday, August 30th, there roared and howled all day a mighty storm of wind. Ludlow, coming up to Town from Essex, could not start in the morning for wind; tried it in the afternoon; still could not get along, in his coach, for headwind; had to stop at Epping.***. On the morrow, Fleetwood came to him in the Protector's name, to ask, What he wanted

* Hebrews, x. 31.
** From Harvey; scattered over his Pamphlet.
*** Ludlow, ii. 610, 12.

here? — Nothing of public concernment, only to see my Mother-in-law! answered the solid man. For indeed he did not know that Oliver was dying; that the glorious hour of Disenthralment, and immortal "Liberty" to plunge over precipices with one's self and one's Cause was so nigh! — It came; and he took the precipices, like a strongboned resolute blind gin-horse rejoicing in the breakage of its halter, in a very gallant constitutional manner. Adieu, my solid friend; if I go to Vevay, I will read thy Monument there, perhaps not without emotion, after all! — —

It was on this stormy Monday, while rocking winds, heard in the sickroom and everywhere, were piping aloud, that Thurloe and an Official person entered to inquire, Who, in case of the worst, was to be his Highness Successor? The Successor is named in a sealed Paper already drawn-up, above a year ago, at Hampton Court; now lying in such and such a place. The Paper was sent for, searched for; it could never be found. Richard's is the name understood to have been written in that Paper: not a good name; but in fact one does not know. In ten years' time, had ten years more been granted, Richard might have become a fitter man; might have been cancelled, if palpably unfit. Or perhaps it was Fleetwood's name, — and the Paper, by certain parties, was stolen? None knows. On the Thursday night following, "and not till then," his Highness is understood to have formally named "Richard;" — or perhaps it might only be some heavy-laden "Yes, yes!" spoken, out of the thick death-slumbers, in answer to Thurloe's *question* "Richard?" The thing is a little uncertain.* It was, once more, a matter of much moment; — giving colour probably to all the subsequent Centuries of England, this answer! —

On or near the night of the same stormy Monday, "two or three days before he died," we are to place that Prayer his Highness was heard uttering; which, as taken down by his attendants, exists in many old Notebooks. In the tumult of the winds, the dying Oliver was heard uttering this

* Authorities in Godwin, iv. 572-3. But see also *Thurloe*, vii. 875; Fauconberg's second Letter there.

PRAYER.

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too. And pardon the folly of this short Prayer: — Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

"Some variation there is," says Harvey, "of this Prayer "as to the account divers give of it; and something is here "omitted. But so much is certain, that these were his re- "quests. Wherein his heart was so carried out for God and "His People, — yea indeed for some who had added no little "sorrow to him," the Anabaptist Republicans, and others, — "that at this time he seems to forget his own Family and "nearest relations." Which indeed is to be remarked.

Thursday night the Writer of our old Pamphlet was himself in attendance on his Highness; and has preserved a trait or two; with which let us hasten to conclude. Tomorrow is September Third, always kept as a Thanksgiving day, since the Victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The wearied one "that very night before the Lord took him to his everlasting rest," was heard thus, with oppressed voice, speaking:

"'Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not' — Then *his speech* failed him, but as I apprehended, it was, 'He will

"not leave me.' This saying, 'God is good, he frequently used "all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness, and "fervour of spirit, in the midst of his pains. — Again he said: "'I would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God "and His People: but my work is done. Yet God will be with "His People.'

"He was very restless most part of the night, speaking "often to himself. And there being something to drink offered "him, he was desired To take the same, and endeavour to "sleep. — Unto which he answered: 'It is not my design to "drink or sleep; my design is, to make what haste I can to be gone.' —

"Afterwards, towards morning, he used divers holy ex- "pressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; "among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, "*annihilating* and judging himself. And truly it was observed, "that a public spirit to God's Cause did breathe in him, — as "in his lifetime, so now to his very last."

When the morrow's sun rose, Oliver was speechless; between three and four in the afternoon, he lay dead. Friday, 3d September 1658. "The consternation and astonishment of all people," writes Fauconberg,* "are inexpressible; their "hearts seem as if sunk within them. My poor Wife, — I know "not what on earth to do with her. When seemingly quieted, "she bursts out again into a passion that tears her very heart "in pieces." — Husht, poor weeping Mary! Here is a Life-battle right nobly done. Seest thou not,

> "The storm is changed into a calm,
> At His command and will;
> So that the waves which raged before
> Now quiet are and still;
>
> Then are *they* glad, — because at rest
> And quiet now they be:
> So to the haven He them brings
> Which they desired to see'."

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord;" blessed are the valiant that have lived in the Lord. "Amen, saith the Spirit," — Amen. "They do rest from their labours, and their works follow them."

"Their works follow them." As, I think, this Oliver Crom-

* To Henry Cromwell, 7th September 1658 (*Thurloe*, vii. 375).

well's works have done and are still doing! We have had our "Revolutions of Eighty-eight," officially called "glorious;" and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Star-chambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings and Surplices at All-hallowtide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him! — The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the matter.— But we have to end here.

Oliver is gone; and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-shining miraculous to its own Century, and memorable to all the Centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its King, is *kingless*, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision; staggers, plunges into ever deeper anarchy; King, Defender of the Puritan Faith there can now none be found; — and nothing is left but to recall the old disowned Defender with the remnants of his Four Surplices, and Two Centuries of *Hypocrisis* (or Play-acting *not* so called), and put-up with all that, the best we may. The Genius of England no longer soars Sunward, world-defiant, like an Eagle through the storms, "mewing her mighty youth," as John Milton saw her do: the Genius of England, much liker a greedy Ostrich intent on provender and a whole skin mainly, stands with its *other* extremity Sunward; with its Ostrich-head stuck into the readiest bush, of old Church-tippets, King-cloaks, or what other "sheltering Fallacy" there may be, and *so* awaits the issue. The issue has been slow; but it is now seen to have been inevitable. No Ostrich, intent on gross terrene provender, and sticking its head into Fallacies, but will be awakened one day, — in a terrible *à-posteriori* manner, if not otherwise! — — Awake before it come to that; gods and men bid us awake! The Voices of our Fathers, with thousandfold stern monition to one and all, bid us awake.

APPENDIX A.

SQUIRE PAPERS.

(FROM FRASER'S MAGAZINE.)

THE following Article in *Fraser's Magazine* had not the effect intended for it, — of securing in printer's types a certain poor defaced scantling of Cromwell Letters, which had fallen to my charge under circumstances already sorrowful enough; and then of being, after some slight peaceable satisfaction to such as took interest in it, forgotten by the public; I also being left to forget it, and be free of it. On the contrary, the peaceable satisfaction to persons interested was but temporary; and the public, instead of neglecting and forgetting, took to unquiet guessing, as if there lay some deeper mystery in the thing, perhaps foul play in it: private guessing, which in a week or two broke out into the Newspapers, in the shape of scepticism, of learned doubt too acute to be imposed upon, grounding itself on antiquarian philologies (internal evidence of anachronisms), 'cravat,' 'stand no nonsense,' and I know not what. The unwonted circumstances of the case, and the unsatisfactory though unavoidable reticences in detailing it, threw a certain enigmatic *chiaroscuro* over the transaction, which, as it were, challenged the idle mind. Since the public had not neglected and forgotten, the public could do no other than guess. The idle public, obstinately resolute to *see* into millstones, could of course see nothing but opacity and *its* wide realms; got into ever deeper doubt, which is bottomless, "a sphere with infinite radius," and very easily arrived at; could get into no certainty, which is a sphere's *centre*, and difficult to arrive at; continued fencing with spectres, arguing from antiquarian philologies, &c. in the Newspapers; — whereby, echo answering echo, and no transparency in millestones being attainable, the poor public rose rapidly to a height of

well's works have done and are still doing! We have had our "Revolutions of Eighty-eight," officially called "glorious;" and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Star-chambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings and Surplices at All-hallowtide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him! — The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the matter.— But we have to end here.

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anxiety on this unexpected matter, and raised a noise round itself which, considering the importance of the subject, might be called surprising. In regard to all which, what could an unfortunate Editor of Cromwell Letters do, except perhaps carefully hold his peace? The ancient housekeeper, in some innocent first-floor, in the still night-time, throws a potsherd which is in her way into the street of the village: a most small transaction, laudable in its kind; but near by, starts the observant street-dog, who will see farther into it: "Whaf-thaf? Bow-wow!" — and so awakens, in what enormous geometrical progression is well known, all the dogs in the village, perhaps all the dogs in the parish, and gradually, even in the county and in the kingdom, to universal vigilant observant "Bow-wow, Whaf-thaf?" in the hope of seeing farther into it. Under which distressing circumstances, the ancient housekeeper understands that her one course is patience and silence; that the less she says or does, the sooner it will end! — This Squire Controversy did not quite terminate by nature, I think; but rather was suddenly quenched by that outburst of the European revolutions in the end of the February then passing, which led the public intellect into fruitfuller departments.

This is not a state of matters one would wish to reawaken! Scepticism, learned doubt, in regard to these Squire Papers, I understand is still the prevailing sentiment; and also that silence, and the reflection how small an interest, if any whatever, is involved in the matter, are the only means of removing doubt, and of leading us to the *least* miraculous explanation, whatever that may be. To myself, I confess, the phenomenon is, what it has always been, entirely inexplicable, a miracle equal to any in *Bollandus* or *Capgravius*, unless these Squire Letters are substantially genuine: and if their history on that hypothesis is very dim and strange, — on the other hypothesis they refuse, for me at least, to have any conceivable history at all. Antiquarian philologies, &c. such as appeared in the late universal "Whaf-thaf?" or grand "Squire Controversy" never to be revived, had naturally no effect in changing one's opinion, and could have none. I have since had a visit, two visits, from the Gentleman himself; have conversed with him twice, at large, upon the Letters, the burnt Journal, and all manner of adjacent topics: and certainly, whatever other notion I might form of him, the notion that he either would or could have himself produced a Forgery of Cromwell Letters,

or been the instrument (for any consideration, much more for none) of another producing it, was flatly inconceivable once for all. Nay to hint at it, I think, would not be altogether safe for Able Editors within wind of this Gentleman! So stands it, as it has always stood, with myself, in regard to this small question.

At the same time, I am well enough aware, the Gentleman's account of proceedings in the business has an amazing look; which only the personal knowledge of him could perhaps render less amazing. Doubt, to strangers, is very permissible; nay to all, these Letters, by the very hypothesis, are involved everywhere in liability to incorrectness; irrecoverably stript of their complete historical authenticity, — and not to be admitted, but to be rigorously excluded, except on that footing, in any History of Cromwell; — and, on the whole, are in the state of an absurd entanglement, connected with a most provoking coil of such. Out of which there is only this good door of egress: That they are intrinsically of no importance in the History of Cromwell; that they alter nothing of his Life's character, add nothing, deduct nothing; can be believed or disbelieved, without, to him or to us, any perceptible result whatever; — and ought, in fine, to be dismissed and sent upon their destinies, by all persons who have serious truth to seek for, and no time for idle guesses and riddle-ma-rees of the Scriblerus and Nugatory-Antiquarian sort.

Accordingly I had decided, as to these Squire Papers, which can or could in no case have been incorporated into any documentary Life of Cromwell, not to introduce them at all into this Book, which has far other objects than *they* or their questions of antiquarian philology can much further! But, on the other hand, it was urged by friends who believe, like myself, in the fundamental authenticity of Squire, that hereby would arise a tacit admission of Squire's spuriousness, injustice done by me to Squire and to the antiquarian philologers; that many readers, disbelievers or not, would have a certain wish to see the Squire Papers; — that, in fine, under the head of the semi-romantic or Doubtful Documents of Oliver's History, and at all events as an accidental quite undoubtful Document in the history *of* Oliver's History, they would have a certain value. To all which arguments, not without some slight weight, the Printer now accidentally adds another. That he has room for these Squire Papers, and even need of them to

preserve his symmetries; that he can maintain an impassable wall between them and the Book, can insert them at the end of Volume First and yet not *in* the Volume, with ease and with advantage. Here accordingly these astonishing Squire Papers are: concerning which I have only one hope to express, That the public, thinking of them (in silence, if I might advise) exactly what it finds most thinkable, will please to excuse me from further function in the matter; my duty in respect of them being now, to the last fraction of it, done; my knowledge of them being wholly communicated; and my care about them remaining, what it always was, close neighbour to nothing. The Reprint is exact from *Fraser's Magazine*, except needful correction of misprints, and insertion of two little Notes, which have hung wafered on the margin this long while, and are duly indicated where they occur.

7th May 1849.

FRASER'S MAGAZINE FOR DECEMBER 1847: ARTICLE I.

THIRTY-FIVE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

On the first publication of *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, new contributions of Cromwell matter, of some value of no value, and even of less than none, were, as the general reader knows, diligently forwarded to me from all quarters; and turned to account, in the Second Edition of that work, as the laws of the case seemed to allow. The process, which seemed then to all practical intents completed, and is in fact very languid and intermittent ever since, has nevertheless not yet entirely ceased; and indeed one knows not when, if ever, it will entirely cease; for at longer and longer intervals new documents and notices still arrive; though, except in the single instance now before us, I may describe these latter as of the last degree of insignificance; hardly even worth "inserting in an Appendix," which was my bargain in respect of them. Whence it does, at last, seem reasonable to infer that our English Archives are now pretty well exhausted, in this particular; and that nothing more, of importance, concerning Oliver Cromwell's utterances of himself in this world will be gathered henceforth. — Here, however, is a kind of exception, in regard to which, on more accounts than one, it has become necessary for me to adopt an exceptional course; and if not to edit, in the sense of elucidating, the contribution sent me, at least to print it straightway, before accident befal it or me.

The following Letters, which require to be printed at once, with my explicit testimony to their authenticity, have come into my hands under singular circumstances and conditions. I am not allowed to say that the Originals are, or were, in the possession of Mr. So-and-so, as is usual in like cases; this, which would satisfy the reader's strict claims in the matter, I have had to engage expressly not to do. "Why not?" all readers will ask, with astonishment, or perhaps with other feelings still more superfluous for our present object. The story is somewhat of an absurd one, what may be called a farce-tragedy; very ludicrous as well as very lamentable; — not glorious to relate; nor altogether easy, under the conditions prescribed! But these Thirty-five Letters are Oliver Cromwell's; and demand, of me especially, both that they be piously preserved, and that there be no ambiguity, no avoidable mystery or other foolery, in presenting of them to the world. If the Letters are not to have, in any essential or unessential respect, the character of voluntary enigmas; but to be read, with undisturbed attention, in such poor twilight of intelligibility as belongs to them, some explanation, such as can be given, seems needful.

Let me hasten to say, then, explicitly once more, that these Letters are of indubitable authenticity: further, that the Originals, all or nearly all in Autograph, which existed in June last, in the possession of a private Gentleman whose name I am on no account to mention, have now irrecoverably perished; — and, in brief, that the history of them, so far as it can be related under these conditions, is as follows:

Some eight or ten months ago, there reached me, as many had already done on the like subject, a letter from an unknown Correspondent in the distance; setting forth, in simple, rugged and trustworthy, though rather peculiar dialect, that he, my Unknown Correspondent, — who seemed to have been a little astonished to find that Oliver Cromwell was actually not a miscreant, hypocrite &c. as heretofore represented, — had in his hands a stock of strange old Papers relating to Oliver: much consumed by damp, and other injury of time; in particular, much "eaten into by a vermin" (as my Correspondent phrased it), — some moth, or body of moths, who had boarded there in past years. The Papers, he said, describing them rather vaguely, contained some things of Cromwell's own, but

appeared to have been mostly written by one SAMUEL SQUIRE, a subaltern in the famed Regiment of Ironsides, who belonged to "the Stilton Troop," and had served with Oliver "from the first mount" of that indomitable Corps, as Cornet, and then as "Auditor," — of which latter office my Correspondent could not, nor could I when questioned, quite specificate the meaning, but guessed that it might be something like that of Adjutant in modern regiments. This Auditor Squire had kept some "Journal," or Diary of proceedings, from "the first mount" or earlier, from about 1642 till the latter end of 1645, as I could dimly gather; but again it was spoken of as "Journals," as "Old Papers," "Manuscripts," in the plural number, and one knew not definitely what to expect: moth-eaten, dusty, dreary old brown Papers; bewildered and bewildering; dreadfully difficult to decipher, as appeared, and indeed almost a pain to the eye, — and too probably to the mind. Poring in which, nevertheless, my Unknown Correspondent professed to have discovered various things. Strange unknown aspects of affairs, moving accidents, adventures, such as the fortune of war in the obscure Eastern Association (of Lincoln, Norfolk &c.), in the early obscure part of Oliver's career, hitherto entirely vacant and dark in all Histories, had disclosed themselves to my Unknown Correspondent, painfully spelling in the rear of that destructive vermin: onslaughts, seizures, surprises; endless activity, audacity, rapidity on the part of Oliver; strict general integrity too, nay, rhadamanthine justice, and traits of implacable severity connected therewith, which had rather shocked the otherwise strong but *modern* nerves of my Unknown Correspondent. Interspersed, as I could dimly gather, were certain *Letters*, from Oliver and others (known or hitherto unknown, was not said); kept, presumably, by Auditor Squire, the Ironside Subaltern, as narrative documents, or out of private fondness. As proof what curious and to me interesting matter lay in those old Papers, Journals or Journal, as my Unknown Correspondent indiscriminately named them, he gave me the following small Excerpt; illuminating completely a point on which I had otherwise sought light in vain. See, in *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter of 5th July 1644; which gives account of Marston-Moor Battle, and contains an allusion to Oliver's own late loss, "Sir, you know my own trials this way," — touching allusion, as it now proves; dark hitherto for all

readers: — Meeting Colonel Cromwell again after some absence, just on the edge of Marston Battle (it is Auditor Squire that writes), 'I thought he looked sad and wearied; 'for he had 'had a sad loss; young Oliver got killed to death not long be-'fore, I heard: it was near Knaresborough, and 30 more got killed.'*

Interesting Papers beyond doubt, my Unknown Correspondent thought. On one most essential point, however, he professed himself at a painful pause: How far, or whether at all, these Papers ought to be communicated to the Public, or even to myself? Part of my Correspondent's old kindred had been Roundheads, part had been Royalists; of both which sorts plentiful representatives yet remained, at present all united in kindly oblivion of those old sorrows and animosities; but capable yet, as my Correspondent feared, of blazing up into one knew not what fierce contradictions, should the question be renewed. That was his persuasion, that was his amiable fear. I could perceive, indeed, that my Correspondent, evidently a simple and honourable man, felt obscurely as if, in his own new conviction about Oliver's character, he possessed a dangerous secret, which ought in nowise to be lightly divulged. Should he once inconsiderately blab it, this heterodox almost criminal secret, like a fire-spark among tinder and dry flax; — how much more if, by publishing those private Papers, confirmatory of the same, he deliberately shot it forth as mere flame! Explosion without limit, in the family and still wider circles, might ensue. — On the whole, he would consider of it; was heartily disposed to do for me, and for the interests of truth (with what peril soever) all in his power; — hoped, for the rest, to be in London soon, where, it appeared, the Papers were then lying in some repository of his; would there see me, and do as good will guided by wise caution might direct.

To all which I could only answer with thanks for the small valuable hint concerning young Oliver's death; with a desire to know more about those old Papers; with astonishment at my Correspondent's apprehension as to publishing them, which I professed was inconceivable, and likely to fly away as a nightdream if he spoke of it in intelligent circles; — and finally with an eager wish for new light of any authentic kind on Oliver Cromwell and his acts or sayings, and an engage-

* But see antea, p. 87, n. (*Note of 1857.*)

ment that whatever of that sort my Correspondent did please to favour me with, should be thankfully turned to use, under such conditions as he might see good to prescribe. And here, after a second or perhaps even a third letter and answer (for several of these missives, judged at first to be without importance, are now lost), which produced no new information to me, nor any change in my Correspondent's resolutions, the matter had to rest. To an intelligent Friend, partly acquainted in my Correspondent's country, I transmitted his letters; with request that he would visit this remarkable possessor of old *Manuscripts*; ascertain for me, more precisely, what he was, and what they were; and, if possible, persuade him that it would be safe, for himself and for the universe, to let me have some brief perusal of them! This Friend unfortunately did not visit those my Correspondent's localities at the time intended: so, hearing nothing more of the affair, I had to wait patiently its ulterior developments; the arrival, namely, of my Correspondent in Town, and the opening of his mysterious repositories there. Not without surmises that perhaps, after all, there might be little, or even nothing of available, in them; for me nothing, but new dreary labour, ending in new disappointment and disgust; tragic experience being already long and frequent, of astonishingly curious old Papers on Oliver, vouchsafed me, with an effort and from favour, by ardent patriotic correspondents, — which, after painful examination, proved only to be astonishing old bundles of inanity, dusty desolation and extinct stupidity, worthy of oblivion and combustion: surmises tending naturally to moderate very much my eagerness, and render patience easy.

So had some months passed, and the affair been pretty well forgotten, when, one afternoon in June last, a heavy Packet came by Post; recognisable even on the exterior as my Unknown Correspondent's: and hereby, sooner than anticipation, and little as I could at first discern it, had the catastrophe *arrived*. For within there lay only, in the meanwhile, copied accurately in my Correspondent's hand, those Five-and-thirty Letters of Oliver Cromwell which the Public are now to read: this, with here and there some diligent though rather indistinct annotation by my Correspondent, where needful; and, in a Note from himself, some vague hint of his *having been in* Town that very day, and even on the point of

calling on me, had not haste and the rigour of railways hindered; hints too about the old dangers from Royalist kindred being *now* happily surmounted, — formed the contents of my heavy Packet.

The reading of these old Cromwell Letters, by far the most curious that had ever come to me from such a source, produced an immediate earnest, almost passionate request to have sight of that old "Journal by Samuel Squire," under any terms, on any guarantee I could offer. Why should my respectable obliging Correspondent still hesitate? These *Letters*, I assured him, if he but sold the Originals as Autographs, were worth hundreds of pounds; the old *Journal of an Ironside*, since such it really seemed to be, for he had named it definitely in the singular, not "Journals" and "Papers" as heretofore, — I prized as probably the most curious document in the Archives of England, a piece not to be estimated in tens of thousands. It had become possible, it seemed probable and almost certain, that by diligent study of those old Papers, by examination of them as with microscopes, in all varieties of lights, the veritable figure of Cromwell's Ironsides might be called into day, to be seen by men once more, face to face, in the lineaments of very life! A journey in chase of this unknown Correspondent and his hidden Papers; any journey, or effort, seemed easy for such a prize.

Alas, alas, by return of post, there arrived a Letter beginning with these words: "What you ask is impossible, if you offered me the Bank of England for security: the Journal is *ashes*," — all was ashes! My wonderful Unknown Correspondent had at last, it would appear, having screwed his courage to the sticking place, rushed up to Town by rail; proceeded straight to his hidden repositories here; sat down, with closed lips, with concentered faculty, and copied me exactly the Cromwell Letters, all words of Cromwell's own (these he had generously considered *mine* by a kind of right); — which once done he, still with closed lips, with sacrificial eyes, and terrible hand and mood, had gathered all his old Puritan Papers great and small, Ironside "Journal," Cromwell Autographs, and whatever else there might be, and sternly consumed them with fire. Let Royalist quarrels, in the family or wider circles, arise now if they could; — "much evil," said he mildly to me, "hereby lies buried." The element of "resolution," one may well add, "is strong in our family."

unchangeable by men, scarcely by the very gods! — And so all *was* ashes; and a strange speaking Apparition of the Past, and of a Past more precious than any other is or can be, had sunk again into the dead depths of Night. Irrecoverable; all the royal exchequer could not buy it back! That, once for all, was the fact; of which I, and mankind in general, might now make whatsoever we pleased.

With my Unknown Correspondent I have not yet personally met; nor can I yet sufficiently explain to myself this strange procedure of his, which naturally excites curiosity, amid one's other graver feelings. The Friend above alluded to, who has now paid that visit, alas too late, describes him to me as a Gentleman of honourable, frank aspect and manners; still in his best years, and of robust manful qualities; — by no means, in any way, the feeble, chimerical or distracted Entity, dug up from the Seventeeth Century and set to live in this Nineteenth, which some of my readers might fancy him. Well acquainted with that old *Journal* "which went to 200 folio pages;" and which he had carefully, though not with much other knowledge, read and again read. It is suggested to me, as some abatement of wonder: "He has lived, he and his, for 300 years, under the shadow of a Cathedral City: you know not what kind of Sleepy Hollow that is, and how Oliver Cromwell is related to it, in the minds of all men and nightbirds who inhabit there! This Gentleman had felt that, one way or other, you would inevitably in the end get this MS. from him, and make it public; which, what could it amount to but a new Guy-Faux Cellar, and Infernal Machine, to explode his Cathedral City and all its coteries, and almost dissolve Nature for the time being? Hence he resolved to burn his Papers, and avoid catastrophes."

But what chiefly, or indeed exclusively, concern us here, is that, from the first, and by all subsequent evidence, I have seen this Gentleman to be a person of perfect veracity, and even of scrupulous exactitude in details; so that not only can his Copies of the Cromwell Letters be taken as correct, or the correctest he could give, but any remark or statement of his concerning them is also to be entirely relied on. Let me add, for my own sake and his, that, with all my regrets and condemnations, I cannot but dimly construe him as a man of *much real worth*; and even (though strangely *inarticulate*, and

sunk in strange environments) of a certain honest intelligence, energy, generosity; which ought not to escape recognition, while passing sentence; — least of all by one who is forced unwillingly to relate these things, and whom, as is clear, he has taken great pains, and made a strong effort over himself, to oblige even so far. — And this is what I had to say by way of Introduction to these new Letters of Oliver Cromwell, which are now all that remains to the world or me from that adventure.

With regard to the Letters themselves, they may now be read without farther preface. As will be seen, they relate wholly to the early part of Oliver's career; to that obscure period, hitherto vacant or nearly so in all Histories, while "Colonel Cromwell" still fought and struggled in the Eastern Association, under Lord Grey of Groby, under the Earl of Manchester, or much left to his own shifts; and was not yet distinguished by the public from a hundred other Colonels. They present to us the same old Oliver whom we knew, but in still more distinct lineaments and physiognomy; the features deeply, even coarsely marked, — or, as it were, *enlarged* to the gigantic by unexpected nearness. It is Oliver left to himself; stript bare of all conventional draperies; toiling, wrestling as for life and death, in his obscure element; none looking over him but Heaven only. He "can stand no nonsenses;" he is terribly in earnest; will have his work done, — will have God's Justice done too, and the Everlasting Laws observed, which shall help, not hinder, all manner of work! The Almighty God's commandments, these, of which this work is one, are great and awful to him; all else is rather small, and not awful. He has pity, — pity as of a woman, of a mother, we have known in Oliver; and rage also as of a wild lion, where need is. He rushes direct to his point: "If resistance is made, pistol him;" "Wear them (these uniforms), or go home;" "Hang him out of hand; he wantonly killed the poor widow's boy: God and man will be well pleased to see *him* punished!" The attentive reader will catch not only curious minute features of the old Civil War, in these rude Letters; but more clearly than elsewhere significant glimpses of Oliver's character and ways: and if any readers nerves, like my Correspondent's, be too *modern*, — all effeminated in this universal, very dreary, very portentous babble of "abo-

lishing Capital Punishments" &c. &c., and of sending Judas Iscariot, Courvoisier, Praslin, Tawell, and *Nature's* own Scoundrels, teachable by no hellebore, "to the schoolmaster," instead of to the hangman, or to the cesspool, or somewhere swiftly out of the way (said "schoolmaster" not having yet overtaken all his *other* hopefuller work, by any manner of means!) — perhaps the sight of a great natural Human Soul once more, in whom the stamp of Divinity is *not* quite abolished by Ages of Cant, and hollow Wiggery of every kind, ending now in an age of "Abolition Principles," may do such reader some good! I understand, one of my Correspondent's more minute reasons for burning the Ironside Journal was, that is showed Cromwell uncommonly impatient of scoundrels, from time to time; and might have shocked some people! —

I print these Letters according to their date, so far as the date is given; or as the unwritten date can be ascertained or inferred, — which of course is not always possible; more especially since the accompanying "Journal" was destroyed. With some hesitation, I decide to print with modern spelling and punctuation, there being no evidence that the partially ill-spelt Copies furnished me are exact to Oliver's ill-spelling; which at all events is insignificant, the sense having nowhere been at all doubtful. Commentary, except what Auditor Squire and his Transcriber have afforded, I cannot undertake to give; nor perhaps will much be needed. Supplementary words added by myself are marked by single commas, as was the former wont; annotations, if inserted in the body of the Letter, are in Italics within brackets. — And now to business, with all brevity.

Nos. I.—VI.

The first Six Letters are of dates prior to the actual breaking out of the Civil War, but while its rapid approach was too evident; and bring to view, in strange lugubrious *chiaroscuro*, Committees of "Association for mutual Defence" (or however they phrased it), and zealous Individuals, SAMUEL SQUIRE among others, tremulously sitting in various localities, — tremulous under the shadow of High Treason on the one hand, and of Irish Massacre on the other; — to whom of course the honourable Member's communications, in such a season, were of breathless interest. The King has quitted his Parliament;

and is moving northward, towards York as it proved, in a more and more menacing attitude.

I. The address, if there ever was any except a verbal one by the Bearer, is entirely gone, and the date also; but may be supplied by probable conjecture:

'To the Committe of Association at Huntingdon.'

DEAR FRIENDS, 'London, March 1641.'

It is not improbable that the King may go through Huntingdon on his way to Stamford. Pray keep all steady, and let no peace be broken. Beg of all to be silent; or it may mar our peaceable settling this sad business. Such as are on the County Array bid go; all of you protect, at cost of life, the King from harm, or foul usage by word or deed, — as you love the Cause. — From Your faithful — [*word lost?*]

OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Transcriber, my Unknown Correspondent, adds from the burnt *Journal* this Note: "Journal mentioned a sad riot at Peterborough on the King's going to Stamford, between the Townsmen and the Array." March 1641, as is known, means 1642 according to the modern style: Newyears-day is 25th March.

II. The date exists, though wrong written, from haste; but the address must be supplied:

'To the Committee of Association at Stilton';

Ely, April 11th day, 1641 [*for* 1642; *miswritten Newyears-day being still recent.*]

DEAR FRIENDS,

The Lord has hardened his [*the King's*] heart more and more: "he has" refused to hear reason, or to care for our Cause or Religion or Peace.

Let our Friends have notice of the sad news. I will be with you at Oundle, if possible, early next week; say Monday, as I return now to London this day. Things go on as we all said they would. We are all on the point of now openly declaring ourselves: now may the Lord prosper us in the good Cause!

Commend me in brotherly love to our chosen Friends and vessels of the Lord: I name no one, to all the same. I write myself Your Friend in the Lord's Cause,

O.

P. S. Be sure and put up with no affronts. Be as a bundle of sticks; let the offence to one be as to all. The Parliament will back us.

III. *To Mr. Samuel Squire* [subsequently Cornet and Auditor Squire].

DEAR FRIEND, London, 3d May 1642.

I heard from our good Friend W. [*Wildman?*] how zealous in the good Cause you were. We are all alive here, and sweating hard to beat those Papists: may the Lord send to us His holy aid to overcome them, and the Devils who seek to do evil.

Say to your Friends that we have made up our Demands to the control of the Navy, and Trainbands of the Counties' Militia, also all Forts and Castles: and, with God's aid, we will have them if he [*the King*] likes or dislikes. For he is more shifty every day. We must do more also, unless he does that which is right in the sight of God and man to his People.

I shall come to Oundle, in my way down, this time; as I learn you live there a great time now. So may you prosper in all your undertakings, and may the Lord God protect and watch over you. Let them all know our mind. — From

Your Friend, O. C.

IV. *To the Committee of Association 'at Cambridge.'*

GENTLEMEN, London, 'June 1642.'

I have sent you, by Hobbes's Wain, those you know of. You must get lead as you may: — the Churches have enough and to spare on them! We shall see the Lord will supply us. Heed well your motions [*learn well your drill-exercise*]: and laugh not at Rose's Dutch tongue; he is a zealous servant, and we may go further and get worse man to our hand than he is.

I learn from R. you get offences from the Bullards at Stamford.* Let them heed well what they are about, or [*ere*] they

* *Note to the Reprint.* "Bullards," printed in *Fraser* with a mark of interrogation, has attracted the notice of a helpful Correspondent, or of more than one. "Bullards," equivalent to *Bull-wards*, I now find, is an old name or nickname for the Stamford people; Stamford being famous for bull-baiting, and gifted with bequests to promote that branch of enterprise: "for which legacy," says one Mr. Lowe of those parts, "every *Bullard*, in gratitude, ought to drink the joint memory of" — two heroes named by Mr. *Lowe*: see Hone's *Every-Day Book*, i. 1483.

get a cake more than they bargain for for their penny. — V. says that many come ill to the time fixed for muster: pray heed well their loss of time; for I assure you, if once we let time pass by, we shall seek in vain to recover it. The Lord helpeth those who heed His commandments: and those who are not punctual in small matters, of what account are they when it shall please Him to call us forth, if we be not watchful and ready? Pray beat up those sluggards. — I shall be over, if it please God, next Tuesday or Wednesday. I rest, till then,

Your Friend and Wellwisher,

O. C.

My Correspondent, who rather guesses this Letter to have gone to *Huntingdon*, subjoins in reference to it, the following very curious Note gathered from his recollections of the burnt *Journal:* — "Huntingdon regiment of Horse. Each armed and horsed himself; except Mr. Oliver Cromwell's Troop of Slepe Dragoons, of some 30 to 40 men, mostly poor men or very small freeholders: these the Journal mentioned often; I mean the Slepe Troop of hard-handed fellows, who did as he told them, and asked no questions. The others, despite all that has been said and written, armed themselves and horsed also. I mean the celebrated *Tawnies* or *Ironsides*. They wore brown coats, — as did most Farmers, and little country Freeholders; and so do now, as you or me may see any day. — Oliver had some 200 foot also armed by him, who did great service."

V. No date, no address now left. Probably addressed to the Committee at Cambridge, or whichever was the *central* Committee of those Associations; and, to judge by the glorious *ripeness* to which matters have come, dated about the beginning of July. A very curious Letter. We have prospered to miracle; the Eastern Fen regions are all up or rising, and Royalism quite put down there, impossible as that once seemed. Miraculous success; — and greater is yet coming, if we knew it!

'*To* — —.'

DEAR FRIENDS, 'London, July 1642.'

Your Letters gave me great joy at reading your great progress in behalf of our great Cause.

Verily I do think the Lord is with me! I do undertake

strange things, yet do I go through with them, to great profit and gladness, and furtherance of the Lord's great Work. I do feel myself lifted on by a strange force, I cannot tell why. By night and by day I am urged forward on the great Work. As sure as God appeared to Joseph in a dream, also to Jacob, He also has directed — — [*some words eaten out by moths*] — — Therefore I shall not fear what man can do unto me. I feel He giveth me the light to see the great darkness that surrounds us at noonday. — to my — ht — ly [*five words gone, by moths*], I have been a stray sheep from the Fold; but I feel I am born again; I have cast off — — [*moths again; nearly three lines lost*] — —

"I have" sent you 300 more Carbines, and 600 Snaphances; also 300 Lances, which when complete I shall send down by the Wain with 16 barrels Powder.

We [*of the Parliament*] declare ourselves now, and raise an Army forthwith: Essex and Bedford are our men. Throw off fear, as I shall be with you. I get a Troop ready to begin; and they will show the others. Truly I feel I am Siloam of the Lord; my soul is with you in the Cause. I sought the Lord; and found this written in the First Chapter of Zephaniah, the 3d verse: "See, I will consume, &c. [*Here is the rest of the passage:* "Consume] man and beast; I will consume the fowls of "heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the stumblingblocks "with the wicked; and I will cut off man from off the land, "saith the Lord."

Surely it is a sign for us. So I read it. For I seek daily, and do nothing without first so seeking the Lord.

I have much to say to you all, when I do see you. Till I so do, the Lord be with you; may His grace abound in all your houses. Peace be among you, loving Friends: so do I pray daily for your souls' health. I pray also, as I know you also "do," for His mercy to soften the heart of the King. — — [*moth-ruins to the end; the signature itself half-eaten: indistinctly guessable to have been:*]

I "shall be at" Godmanchester, "if it please the Lord, on" Monday.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

VI. No date; presumably, August 1642, at Ely or somewhere in that region; where Parliament musters or "surveys" are going on, and brabbles with recusant Royalists are rife, — in one of which the excellent Mr. Sprigg has got a stroke. My Correspondent, the Transcriber, thinks "*house* at Peterborough" must mean merely *quarters* in a house there, the house or home of Squire appearing in a late Letter to be at Oundle.

To Mr. Squire, at his House, Peterborough.

SIR [*No date.*]

I regret much to hear your sad news. I regret much that worthy vessel of the Lord, Sprigg, came to hurt.

I hope the voice of the Lord will soften the Malignant's heart even yet at the eleventh hour: we rejoice at the "hope" much; — but do keep it quiet, and not to take air.

We had a rare survey about us; and did much good. I expect to see you all at Stilton on Tuesday. To prevent hindrance, bring your swords and ⊹ [*hieroglyph for muskets?*]. — From

Your Friend,

O. C.

Nos. VII. — XXIV.

VII. Keinton or Edgehill Battle, the first clear bursting into flame of all these long-smouldering elements, was fought on Sunday 23d October 1642. The following Eighteen Letters, dated or approximately dateable all but some two or three, bring us on, in a glimmering fitful manner, along the as yet quite obscure and subterranean course of Colonel Cromwell, to within sight of the Skirmish at Gainsborough, where he dared to beat and even to slay the Hon. Charles Cavendish, and first began to appear in the world.

'*To Auditor Squire.*'

DEAR FRIEND, Wisebeach, this day, 11th November 1642.

Let the Saddler see to the Horse-gear. I learn, from one, many are ill-served. If a man has not good weapons, horse and harness, he is as naught. I pray you order this: — and tell Rainsborough I shall see to that matter "of his;" but do not wrong the fool. — From

Your Friend,

O. C.

VIII. The following is dated the same day, apparently at a subsequent hour, and to the same person.

'To Auditor Squire.'

November 11th day, 1642.

Take Three Troops, and go to Downham; I care not which they be. OLIVER CROMWELL.

IX. "Stanground" is in the Peterborough region; "Alister *your Music*" means "Alister your Trumpeter," of whom there will be other mention. Oliver finds himself at a terrible pinch for money; — there are curious glimpses into that old House by Ely Cathedral too, and the "Mother" and the "Dame" there! —

To Mr. Samuel Squire, at his Quarters at Stanground.

DEAR FRIEND, 29th November 1642.

I have not at this moment Five Pieces by me; loan I can get none; and without money a man is as naught. Pray now open thy pocket, and lend me 150 Pieces until my rent-day, when I will repay, — or say 100 Pieces until then. Pray send me them by Alister your Music; he is a cautious man.

— Tell W. I will not have his men cut folk's grass without proper compensation. If you pass mine, say to my Dame I have gone into Essex: my house is open to you; make no scruple; do as at your house at Oundle, or I shall be cross. — If you please ride over to Chatteris, and order the quartering of those [*that*] Suffolk Troop, — I hear they have been very bad; — and let no more such doings be. Bid R. horse* any who offend; say it is my order, and show him this.

Pray do not forget the 100 Pieces; and bid Alister ride haste. I shall be at Biggleswade at H. Sent me the accounts of the week, if possible by the Trumpet; if not, send them on by one of the Troopers. It were well he rode to Bury, and wait [*waited*] my coming.

I hope you have forwarded my Mother the silks you got for me in London; also those else for my Dame. If not, pray do not fail. — From Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

* That is, *wooden-horse* (used as a verb.) — "Do military men of these "times understand the wooden horse? He is a mere triangular ridge or

"W." I suppose means Wildman, "R." Rainsborough. My Correspondent annotates here: "The *Journal* often mentioned trouble they" (the officers generally) "got into from the men taking, without leave, hay and corn from Malignants, whom Oliver never allowed to be robbed,—but paid for all justly to friend and foe."

X. *To Cornet Squire, at his Quarters, Tanaor: These.*

SIR Huntingdon, 22d January 1642.

News has come in, and I want you. Tell my Son to ride over his men to me, as I want to see him. Tell White and Wildman also I want them. Be sure you come too: do not delay.

I have ill news of the men under my Son: tell him from me I must not have it. Bring me over those Papers you know of. Desborow has come in with good spoil,—some 3,000*l.* I reckon.

Your Friend,

O. ["C." *rotted off.*]

Dated on the morrow after this, is the celebrated Letter to *Robert Barnard, Esquire*, now in the possession of Lord Gosford:* "subtlety may deceive you, integrity never will!"—

XI. Refers to the Lowestoff exploit;** and must bear date 12th March 1642-3,'—apparently from Swaffham, Downham, or some such place on the western side of Norfolk.

For Captain Berry, at his Quarters, Oundle. Haste.

DEAR FRIEND, [*Date gone by moths*] —'12th March 1642.

We have secret and sure hints that a meeting of the Malignants takes place at Lowestoff on Tuesday. Now I want your aid; so come with all speed on getting this, with your Troop; and tell no one your route, but let me see you ere sundown.—From Your Friend and Commandant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Auditor Squire had written in his *Journal*, now burnt: "He' (Oliver) "got his first information of this business from the man

"roof of wood, set on four sticks, with absurd head and tail superadded; "and you ride him bare-backed, in face of the world, frequently with "muskets tied to your feet,—in a very uneasy manner!"—*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (this present edition), ii. 17.

* *Letters and Speeches*, antea, p. 102. ** Ibid. antea, p. 198.

that sold fish to the Colleges" (at Cambridge), "who being searched, a Letter was found on him to the King, and he getting rough usage told all he knew."

XII. Date and address have vanished; eaten by moths; but can in part be restored. Of the date, it would appear, there remains dimly "the last figure, which looks like a 5:" that will probably mean "March 15," which otherwise one finds to be about the time. The scene is still the Fen-country; much harassed by Malignants, necessitating searches for arms, spy-journeys, and other still stronger measures! "Montague," we can dimly gather, is the future Earl of Sandwich; at present "Captain of the St. Neot's Troop," a zealous young Gentleman of eighteen; who, some six months hence, gets a commission to raise a regiment of his own; of whom there is other mention by and by.

'*To Cornet Squire.*'

DEAR FRIEND, '—— 15th March 1642.'

I have no great mind to take Montague's word about that Farm. I learn, behind the oven is the place they hide them [*the arms*]; so watch well, and take what the man leaves; — and hang the fellow out of hand [*out-a-hand*], and I am your warrant. For he shot a boy at Pilton-bee by the Spinney, the Widow's son, her only support: so God and man must rejoice at his punishment.

I want you to go over to Stamford: they do not well know you; ride through, and learn all; and go round by Spalding, and so home by Wisbee [*Wisbeach*]. See 15, 8, 92; and bring me word. — Wildman is gone by way of Lincoln: you may meet; but do not know him; he will not you.

I would you could get into Lynn; for I hear they are building a nest there we must rifle, I sadly fear. — You will hear of me at Downham: if not, seek me at Ely; my Son will say my Quarters to you. — From Your Friend,

O. C.

XIII. No date, no address; the Letter itself a ruined fragment "in Oliver's hand." For the rest see *Letters and Speeches*, antea, p. 111. "Russell," I suppose, is Russell of Chippenham, the same whose daughter Henry Cromwell subsequently married.

'*To Cornet Squire.*'

SIR [*No date*]. 'Cambridge, (23d?) March 1642.'

Send me by Alister a list of the Troop, and the condition of men and horses; also condition of the arms. Ride over to St. Neot's, and see Montague his Troop, and my Son's Troop; and call on your way back at Huntingdon, and see to Russell's (I hear his men are ill provided in boots); and bit them heed a sudden call: I expect a long ride.

I shall want 200 Pieces: bring me them, or else send them by a sure hand. — You mentioned to my Wife of certain velvets you had in London, come over in your Father's ship from Italy: now, as far as Twenty Pieces go, buy th— — [*torn off, signature and all*]. "OLIVER CROMWELL.

XIV. *To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Godmanchester.*

Cambridge, 26th March 1642 [*miswritten for* 1643; *Newyears-day was yesterday*].

SIR

Since we came back, I learn no men have got the money I ordered. Let me hear no more of this; but pay as I direct, — as we are about hard work, I think.

Yours to mind,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

The "hard work" of this Letter, and "long ride" of last refer to the same matter; which did not take effect after all, much as Colonel Hampden urged it.

XV. "Direction gone; Letter generally much wasted." Refers, seemingly, to those "Plunderers" or "Camdeners" from the Stamford side, concerning whom, about the beginning of this April, there is much talk and terror, and one other Letter by Cromwell, already printed.* "Berry" is the future Major-General; once "Clerk in the Ironworks," Richard Baxter's friend; of whom there was already mention in the Lowestoff affair.

'*To Cornet Squire.*'

Ely, this 30th day [*rest rotted off*], 'March 1643.'

— — — hope you to bring me that I want in due time, — we shall, if it please God, be at Swaffham; — and hear of me at 11 [*name in cipher*], who will say to you all needful.

* *Letters and Speeches*, antea, p. 113.

Mind and come on in strength, as they are out to mischief, and some —— [*guess at their number, illegible*] —— Troops, but ill-armed. Tell Berry to ride in, also Montague; and cut home, as no mercy ought to be shown those rovers, who are only robbers and not honourable soldiers. — Call at Cosey: I learn he has got a case of arms down; fetch them off; also his harness, — it lies in the wall by his bedhead: fetch it off; but move not his old weapons of his Father's, or his family trophies. Be tender of this, as you respect my wishes of one Gentleman to another.

Being me two pair Boothose, from the Fleming's who lives in London Lane; also a new Cravat: — I shall be much thankful. I rest Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"London Lane," I understand, is in Norwich. Let us hope "the Fleming" has a good fleecy-hosiery article there, and can furnish one's Cornet; for the weather is still cold! —

From Norwich and the Fleming, by faint reflex, we perceive further that "Cosey" must be *Costessey*, vernacularly "Cossy," *Park;* seat of the old Roman-Catholic Jerninghams (now Lords Stafford), who are much concerned in these broils, to their heavier cost in time coming. Cossy is some four miles east of Norwich; will lie quite handy for Squire and his Troop as they ride hitherward, being on the very road to Swaffham.*

XVI. *Mr. Samuel Squire, at his Quarters, Peterborough, in Bridge-street there: Haste.*

DEAR SIR, St. Neot's, 3d April 1643.

I am required by the Speaker to send up those Prisoners we got in Suffolk [*at Lowestoff &c.*]; pray send me the Date we got them, also their Names in full, and quality. I expect I may have to go up to Town also. I send them up by Whalley's Troop and the Slepe Troop; my Son goes with them. You had best go also, to answer any questions needed.

I shall require a new Pot [*kind of Helmet*]; mine is ill set. Buy me one in Tower Street; a Fleming sells them, I think his name is Vandeleur: get one *fluted*, and good barrets; and let,

* This Paragraph is due to a Correspondent (Jan. 1848), after *Fraser*, where "Cosey" was printed with a *quære*, "Cosey (?)" — (*Note to the Reprint*, 1850.)

the plume-case be set on well behind. I would prefer it lined with good shamoy leather to any other.

I have wished them return [*the two Troops to return*] by way of Suffolk home; so remind them. Do see after the 3 [*undecipherable cipher*]. 81 is playing fox: I hold a letter of his he sent to certain ones, which I got of one who carried it. If you light on him, pray take care of him, and bring him on to me. I cannot let such escape; life and property is lost by such villains. If resistance is given, pistol him. No nonsense can be held with such: he is as dangerous as a mad bull, and must be quieted by some means. This villain got our men into a strife near Fakenham, some three weeks since; and two got shot down, and nine wounded; and the others lost some twenty or thirty on their side; and all for his mischief.

Let me see you as soon as needs will allow. Mind Henry come to no ill in London; I look to you to heed him. — From

Your Friend,

Oliver Cromwell.

Squire endorses: "We went up with the Treasure; and got sadly mauled coming back, but beat the ruffians [*ruffinns*] at Chipping, but lost near all our baggage."

XVII. These plundering "Ca'ndishers," called lately "Camdeners," from Noel Viscount Camden their principal adherent in these Southern parts, are outskirts or appendages of the Marquis of Newcastle's Northern or "Papist" Army, and have for Commander the Hon. Charles Cavendish, Cousin of the Marquis; whence their name. They are fast flowing Southward at present, in spite of the Fairfaxes, — to the terror of men. Our first distinct notice of them by Oliver; the *last* will follow by and by.

To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Oundle: These. Post haste, haste.

Sir, Stilton, 12th April this day, '1643.'

Pray show this to Berry, and advise [*signify to*] him to ride in, and join me, by four days time; as these Ca'ndishers, I hear, are over, tearing and robbing all, poor and rich. — — [*moths*] — — Many poor souls slain, and cattle moved off. Stamford is taken, and Lord Noel [*Nole*] has put some 300 to garrison it.

Send on word to Biggleswade, to hasten those slow fellows. We 'are upon no child's-play; and must have all help as we [*they*] may.— At same time, I will buy your Spanish Headpiece you showed me; I will give you Five Pieces for it, and my Scots one: at all rates, I will fain have it. So rest,

Your Friend,

O. C.

The East Foot]*from Suffolk &c.*] are come in, to some 600 men, I learn. Say so to those Biggleswade dormice.

Squire has jotted on this Letter: "writ 12th April 1642" (meaning 1643) "as we were upon our Lincoln riding."

XVIII. *To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Oundle: These. Haste.*

SIR, [Ely, this 13th day April 1642 [*for* 1643].

I got your Letter and the Headpiece [*See Nos.* 16, 17]. I find we want much ere we march. Our Smiths are hard "on" work at shoes. Press me Four more Smiths as you come on: I must have them, yea or nay; say I will pay them fee, and let go after shoeing, — home, and no hindrances.

I am glad Berry is of our mind; and in so good discipline of his men, — next to good arms, sure victory, under God. — I am

Your Friend,

O. C.

XIX. *To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Oundle: These. Haste.*

SIR, Ely, this day, Monday '— 1643.'

The Pay of the three Troops is come down; therefore come over by Twelve tomorrow, and see to it. I can hear nothing of the man that was sent me out of Suffolk and Essex. I fear he is gone off with the money. If so, our means are straitened beyond my power to redeem; — so must beg of you to lend me 200 Pieces more, to pay them; and I will give you the order on my Farm at Slepe, as security, if Parliament fail payment, which I much doubt of.

I got the money out of Norfolk last Friday: it came, as usual, ill; and lies at my Son's quarters safely: also the Hertfordshire money also [*sic*], which lies at his quarters also. The money which was got from the man at Boston is all gone: I had to pay 20 *per centum* for the changing it, and then take

Orders on certain you know of, which will reduce it down to barely 60*l.* in the 100: — which is hard case on us who strive, thus to lose our hard earnings by men who use only pens, and have no danger of life or limb to go through.

Bring me the Lists of the Foot now lying in Garrison. I fear those men from Suffolk are being tried sorely by money from certain parties, — whom I will hang, if I catch playing their tricks in my quarters; by law of arms I will serve them. Order Isham to keep the Bridge (it is needful), and shoot any one passing who has not a pass. The Service is one that we must not be nice upon, to gain our ends. So show him my words for it.

Tell Captain Russell my mind on his men's drinking the poor man's ale and not paying. I will not allow any plunder: so pay the man, and stop their pay to make it up. I will cashier officers and men, if such is done in future.

So let me see you by noon-time; as I leave, after dinner, for Cambridge. Sir, I am

Your Friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Isham," who is to keep the Bridge on this occasion, "left the regiment at the same time as Squire did" (the First War being ended), "and went to sea, as did many others: so said *Journal*." (*Note by the Transcriber.*)

XX. Address torn off, date eaten by moths; the former to be guessed at, the latter not.

'*To Mr. Squire.*'

DEAR FRIEND, '— 1643.'

"I pray you"* send a Hundred Pounds to 81 at Ipswich; also a Hundred Pounds to 92 in Harwich; also Fifty-two Pounds to 151 at Aldborough; — and do not delay an hour. W. [*Wildman?*] is returned: they are all fit to burst at news come in; and, I much fear, will break out. So I am now going over to clip their wings. I shall be back in five days, if all be well.

Henry has borrowed of you Fifty Pieces, I learn. Do not

* Some such phrase, and the half of "Friend," have gone by moths.

let him have any more; he does not need it; and I hope better of you than go against my mind. — I rest,

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXI. *To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Chatteris: Haste, haste.*

SIR, Headquarters, Monday daybreak.

Wildman has seen one who says you have news. How is this I am not put in possession of it? Surely you are aware of our great need. Send or come to me by dinner. — I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXII. *To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Downham.*

DEAR FRIEND, [*No date*] '1643.'

I learn from Burton (112) that one landed at the Quay from Holland, who was let go, and is now gone on by way of Lynn. I hear he has a peaked beard, of a blue-black colour: of some twenty-five years old: I think from my letters, a Spaniard. See to him. He will needs cross the Wash; stop him, and bring him to me. I shall lie at Bury, if not a Newmarket: so be off quickly. — From

Your Friend,

O. CROMWELL.

Haste, — ride on spur.

Squire has endorsed: "Got the man at Tilney, after a tussle, two troopers hit, and he sore cut, even to loss of life. Got all."

XXIII. Mr. Waters is some lukewarm Committee-man; whose lazy backwardness, not to say worse of it, this Colonel can endure no longer. Squire (by whatever chance the Letter came into Squire's hand) has endorsed as memorandum: "146 [*and other cipher-marks*] lives at his house," — which perhaps may explain the thing!

To Mr. Waters at the Cross Keys: These in all speed.

SIR, Lincoln, 25th July 1643.

If no more be done than you and yours have done, it is well you give over such powers as you have to those who will. I say to you now my mind thereto: If I have not that aid which is my due, I say to you I will take it. And so heed me; for I find

your words are mere wind: I shall do as I say, if I find no aid come to me Tuesday. — Sir, I rest, as you will,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXIV. Here are the Ca'ndishers again; scouring the world, like hungry wolves: swift, mount, and after them!

To [Captain Montague or Sam Squire: Haste, haste, on spur.

SIR, [Wisbeach, this day, — 'July 1643.'

One has just come in to say the Ca'ndishers have come as far as Thorney, and done a great mischief, and drove off some threescore fat beasts.

Pray call all in, and follow them; they cannot have got far. Give no quarter; as they shed blood at Bourne, and slew three poor men not in arms. So make haste. — From

[Your Friend and Commander,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Here, too, is a Letter from Henry Cromwell, copied by my Correspondent from Squire's old Papers; which is evidently of contiguous or slightly prior date, and well worth saving.

"To Captain Berry, at his Quarters, Whittlesea: These in all haste.

"SIR, "— 18 July 1643.

"There is great news just come in, by one of our men who "has been home on leave. The Ca'ndishers are coming on hot. "Some say 80 troops, others 50 troops. Be it as it may, we must "go on. Vermuyden has sent his Son on to say, We had better "push on three troops as scouts, as far as Stamford; and hold "Peterborough at all costs, as it is the Key to the Fen, which if "lost much ill may ensue. Our news says, Ca'ndish has sworn "to sweep the Fens clear of us. How he handles his broom, "we will see when we meet: he may find else than dirt to try his "hand on, I think! Last night came in Letters from the Lord "General, also money, and ammunition a good store.

"Our men being ready, we shall ride in and join your Troop "at dawn. Therefore send out scouts to see. Also good intel- "ligencers on foot had better be seen after; they are best, I "find, on all occasions. Hold the Town secure; none go in or "out, on pain of law of arms and war. — Sharman is come in "from Thrapstone: there was a Troop of the King's men driving, "but got cut down to a man, — not far from Kettering, by the "Bedford Horse, and no quarter given, I hear.

"Sir, this is all the news I have. My Father desires me to "say, Pray be careful! Sir, I rest,

"Your humble Servant,

"HENRY CROMWELL."

On the same sheet follow four lines of abstruse cipher, with a signature which I take to mean "Oliver Cromwell:" apparently some still more secret message from the Colonel himself.

On Friday, 28th July 1643, precisely ten days after this Letter, occurred the action at Gainsborough, where poor General Cavendish, "handling his broom" to best ability, was killed; and a good account, or good instalment of account to begin with, was given of these Ca'ndishers.*

NOS. XXV.—XXXV.

Our last batch consists of Eleven Letters; all of which, except two only, bear date 1643; and all turn on the old topics. Squire's more intimate relation to Oliver naturally ceased as the sphere of action widened, — as the "valiant Colonel," having finished his Eastern-Association business, emerged as a valiant General into Marston Battle, into England at large. After 1643, there is only one Letter to Squire; and that on personal business, and dated 1645.

XXV. *To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Wisbeach, at Mr.* ‖ *Thorne's House there: by my Son Henry.*

SIR, August 2d day, 1643.

My Lord Manchester has not the power to serve me as you would [*as you wish*] for York: but I will see if I can do it for him, to serve you in my Kinsman's [*Whalley's, Desborow's, Walton's?*] troop.

I will give you all you ask for that Black you won last fight. — I remain, Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Last Fight" is Gainsborough with the Ca'ndishers; which occurred a week ago, — and has yielded Squire a horse among other things.

* *Letters and Speeches*, antea, p. 123.

XXVI. *To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters, the Flag.*

SIR, This day, 3d August 1643.

These are to require you to bring the Statements of the Troopers who were on the road, when they stopped the Wains containing the Arms going from [*word illegible; my Correspondent writes "Skegness"*] to Oxford: that they be paid their dues for the service.

I learn from Jackson that some of the Suffolk Troop requires Passes to return home to Harvest. Now, that is hardly to be given; seeing we are after Lynn Leaguer, and require all aid needful to surround them [*the Lynn Malignants*]: — Say I cannot grant their requesting. Have they not had great manifesting of God's bounty and grace, in so short a time? I am filled with surprise at this fresh requiring of these selfish men. Let them write home, and hire others to work. I will grant no fresh Passes: the Lord General is against it; and so am I, fixed in my mind.

Do you ride over to Swaffham, and buy Oats for 2000 horse: we shall require as many, to come on to Gaywood, by order, as needed. Also see to the Hay; — and let your servants see well that no imposition is practised. I must insist on due weight and measure for man and horse; or let the chapmen look to their backs and pouches! I stand no rogue's acts here, if they are tolerated in London. I will have my pennyworth for my penny.

Send on a Trooper to Norwich and Yarmouth for news. Bid them call at 112 and 68, and ask Mr. Parmenter after 32: he is fox, I hear. I fear Burton is double. — I am,

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I sent a Pass to your Kinsman.

XXVII. '*To Mr. Squire.*'

'17th August 1643.' &c.

Bid three Troops go on to Downham, and come by way of Wisbeach. Tell Ireton my mind on his shooting that Spy without learning more. I like it not. His name is Nickols, I hear. It were well no news took air of it.

O. C.

"From Col. Cromwell on his way to Siege of Lynn, 17th August 1643:" so Squire dockets; which enables us to date. Farther in regard to "Ireton's matter" (the well-known Ireton), there stood in the *Journal*, says my Correspondent: "This man was shot in Thorney Fen: he was a spy, and had done great injury. He had 500 Gold Pieces in his coat, and a Pass of Manchester's and one of the King's." To which my Correspondent adds in his own person: "Shooting spies, and hanging newsmongers, was very often done; and to me very horrible was the news I read often in the *Journal* of such doings."

XXVIII. The "great work on hand" — is a ride to Lincolnshire; which issued in Winceby Fight, or Horncastle Fight, on Wednesday next.

To 'Auditor Squire.'

DEAR FRIEND, Ely, this day [*moths*], October '1643.'

Hasten with all speed you may, and come on the spur to me at Ely: we have a great work on hand, and shall need us all to undertake it. May the Lord be with us. — Hasten your men. I must see you by tomorrow sunset, as we start next day. — From Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Came by the Colonel's Music," so Squire endorses. — For Winceby Fight, which followed on Wednesday next, see *Letters and Speeches*, antea, pp. 142-4.

XXIX. Home at Ely again; in want of various domestic requisites, — a drop of mild brandy, for one.

To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters, Dereham, or elsewhere: Haste, haste.

SIR, Ely, 15th November 1643.

With all speed, on getting this, see Cox; his Quarters are at the Fort on the South End. Tell him to send me two Culverins, also a small Mortar-piece, with match, powder and shot; also a Gunner and his mates, as I need them.

Buy of Mr. Teryer a case of Strong-waters for me; — and tell the Bailiff to order on such Volunteers as we can: we need all we can get. Also get a cask of cured Fish for me. — Do not fail sending on, with good speed, the Cannons; we stay for them. In haste, yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXX. *To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters.*

SIR, This day, Friday noon, '— November 1643.'

Your Letter is more in the Lord General's business than mine; but to serve you am well pleased at all times. I have writ to the Captain of Loughborough to mind what he is about: at the same time, if your Kinsmen are Papists, I do not know well how I dare go against the Law of Parliament to serve them. I have, to oblige you, done so far: Take a Pass, and go over and see to this matter, if you are inclined. But I think they, if prudent, will get no further ill.

I shall want the Blue Parcel of Papers you know of: send them by your Music. Sir, I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire endorses: "My Cousin would not leave the Nunnery, so left her." — But see next Letter, for a wiser course.

XXXI. *To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters, Fotheringay.*

DEAR FRIEND, Peterborough, this day, 2d Dec. 1643.

I think I have heard you say that you had a relation in the Nunnery at Loughborough. Pray, if you love her, remove her speedily; and I send you a Pass, — as we have orders to demolish it, and I must not dispute orders: [*no!*] — There is one of the Andrews' in it, take her away. Nay give them heed to go, if they value themselves. I had rather they did. I like no war on women. Pray prevail on all to go, if you can. I shall be with you at Oundle in time. From

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire has written on the other side: "Got my Cousin Mary and Miss Andrews out, and left them at our house at Thrapstone, with my Aunt, same night; and the Troops rode over, and wrecked the Nunnery by order of Parliament."

XXXII. Some Cathedral or other Church duty come in course; at which young Montague, Captain of the St. Neot's Troop, would fain hesitate! Readers may remember Mr. Hitch of Ely, — about a fortnight after the date here.* "Monuments

* *Letters and Speeches*, antea, p. 145.

of Superstition and Idolatry," they must go: the Act of Parliament, were there nothing more, is express!

'*To Mr. Squire.*'

SIR, Christmas Eve, '1643.'

It is to no use any man's saying he will not do this or that. What is to be done is no choice of mine. Let it be sufficient, it is the Parliament's Orders, and we to obey them. I am surprised at Montague to say so. Show him this: if the men are not of a mind to obey this Order, I will cashier them, the whole Troop. I heed God's House as much as any man: but vanities and trumpery give no honour to God, nor idols serve Him; neither do painted windows make man more pious. Let them do as Parliament bid them, or else go home,—and then others will be less careful to do what we had done [*might have done*] with judgment.

I learn there is 4 Men down with the Sickness, in the St. Neot's Troop now at March. Let me hear: so ride over, and learn all of it. — Sir, I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire has endorsed: "They obeyed the Order."

XXXIII. This Letter, in my Copy of it, is confidently dated "Stilton, 31st *July* 1643:" but, for two reasons, the date cannot be accepted. First, there is a Letter long since printed, which bears date *Huntingdon*, instead of Stilton, with precisely the same day and year, — the Letter concerning Gainsborough Fight, namely.* Secondly, in the Letter now before us there is allusion to "Horncastle" or Winceby Fight, which had not happened in "July," nor till 11th October following. If for *July* we read *Jany*, January 1643-4, there is a better chance of being right.

'*To Auditor Squire,*'

DEAR SIR, Stilton, 31st 'January' 1643.

Buy those Horses; but do not give more than 18 or 20 Pieces each for them: that is enough for Dragooners.

I will give you 60 Pieces for that Black you won at Horn-

* *Letters and Speeches*, antea, p. 123.

castle (if you hold to a mind to sell him), for my Son who has a mind to him. — Dear Sir, I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

15 is come in.

XXXIV. Red coats for the first time! My Correspondent gives the following annotation: "I remember, in *Journal*, mention of all the East men" (Association men) "wearing red coats, horse and foot, to distinguish them from the King's men; and it being used after by the whole Army. And I think it was after Marston Battle; — but the *Journal* was full of the rowes of the men, and corporals' cabals."

To Mr. Russell, at his Quarters, Bromley by Bow.

Sir, [*No date at all*] '1644.'

I learn your Troop refuse the new Coats. Say this: Wear them, or go home. I stand no nonsense from any one. It is a needful thing we be as one in Colour; much ill having been from diversity of clothes, to slaying 'of friends by friends.' Sir, I pray you heed this.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXXV. Cornet or Auditor Squire, it would appear by my Correspondent's recollections of the lost *Journal*, was promoted to be Lieutenant for his conduct in Naseby Fight: "he afterwards got wounded in Wales or Cornwall; place named *Turo*, I think," — undoubtedly at Truro in Cornwall, in the ensuing Autumn. Here, next Spring, 1645-6, while the Service is like to be lighter, he decides on quitting the Army altogether.

To Lieutenant Squire, at his Quarters, Tavistock: These.

SIR, 3d March 1645.

In reply to the Letter I got this morning from you, — I am sorry you 'so' resolve; for I had gotten you your Commission as Captain from the Lord General, and waited only your coming to give it you. Think twice of this. For I intended your good; as I hope you know my mind thatwise. But so if you will, — I will not hinder you. For, thanks be given to God, I trust now all will be well for this Nation; and an enduring Peace be, to God his glory and our prosperity.

Now there is between you and me some reckoning. Now I hope to be in London, say in three weeks, if God speed me in this matter. Call at the Speaker's, and I will pay you all your due. Pray send me a List of the Items, for guide to me [*for me to guide*]. Let me know what I owe your Brother for the Wines he got me out of Spain to my mind. — Sir, let me once more wish you "would" think over your resolution, that I may serve you. Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire, in his idle moments, has executed on this sheet a rude drawing of a Pen and Sword; very rude indeed; with these words: "Ten to one the Feather beats the Iron:" that is Squire's endorsement on this his last remaining Letter from Oliver; indicating a nascent purpose, on the part of Squire, to quit the Army after all.

With which nascent purpose, and last Letter, we should so gladly take our leave of him and his affairs; were it not that there still remain, from the burnt *Journal*, certain miscellaneous Scraps, transitory jottings of Lists and the like, copied by our Correspondent, — which, though generally of the character of mere opaque ashes, may contain here and there some fragment of a burnt bone, once a hero's; and claim to be included in this which may be called the *Funeral Urn of the Ironsides*, what is left to us of them after the fire. These Scraps too, let us hastily shoot them in, therefore; and so end.

Scrap 1.

On a Slip of Paper in Squire's hand first, but ending with a line in Oliver's:

Ely, this 12th day of March 1643.

Sick:
M. Kearnes
T. Allen

Wounded:
P. Jenkins
P. Frisby
Tab. Tomlins
Sh. Wales

4 horses want new shoes; 14 bridles want repairs [*turns the leaf*]; 4 greaves want repair. Paid for Hay for Horses 50 shillings.

The rest all well.

SAML. SQUIRE.

[*Bottom of the Paper*].

Sixth Troop to go to Downham.

O. C.

Scrap 2.

My Correspondent says: "These Names are written on a Sheet of Paper, folded and marked, *Troops*," — probably, as my Correspondent guesses elsewhere, the names of the original Ironside Captains; well worth preserving indeed!

Cromwell	Flutter	Barnard
Aires	Stebbings	Dodsworth
Berry	Walton	Richardson
Wright	Campin	Russell
Evanson	Deane	White
Collins	Buckell	Rawlins
Rainsforth	Larance	Sidne (*Algernon?*)
Clarke	Wauton	Cromwell, H.
Lawsell	Walden	Cromwell, O. (*Junior*)
Freshwater	Jones	Ireton
Woolward	Whalley	Rich
Spriggs	Cook	Montague (*Sandwich*)
Sheppherd	Fountain	Cults
Fairside	Norton (*idle Dick*)	Chambers.
Weston	Langley	

Scrap 3.

Names written on a Paper marked "St. Neot's Troop."

Speechley	Wauton, V. (*Valentine, young Walton, killed at Marston-Moor?*)
Tebbutt (*the Saddler?* in Scrap 7)	Russell, John
Wright	Cromwell, Rd. (*idle Richard!*)
Ellis	Cromwell, Thos.
Barnard	Montague
Hunt	Halles, Ambrose
Pickering	Andres
Dawson	Specer, junr.
Butler	
Cox	

Scrap 4.

On a Sheet in Squire's hand:

The Names of those who joined us at Siege of Lynn, and came riding in full armed, and went into our second regiment; and who left us, many of them, after Marston Fight, on fancies of conscience, and turned Quackers (*Quakers*); — and such like left us at Newmarket, and went home with the Eastmen's foot, to garrison Lynn and Yarmouth.

No. 1.

Allen, Robert
Ames, Simeon
Anger, Josua
Beales, Constantine
Beart, Hiram
Bullard, Octavius
Ball, Frank
Buddery, Isaac S
Breckenham, Edward
Complin (*or* Camplin), Judah
Camon, Joseph
Cornish, Caleb
Dunton, Saml.
Dormer, James
Downeing, Saml.
Daynes, Danyel
Eccles, Thomas (music)
Elsegood, Zachary
Ellis, John
Fuller, Jacob
Fydeman, John
Fyncham, Saul
Fenn, Aaron
Goodwyn, Robert
Gogney, Simon
Greenwood, Japhet
Goss, Jacque
Hutcherson, Levi
Hewet, Jacob
Hunt, Isaiah
Howard, Timon
Jeunes le, Jonathan S
Kinge, Philip
Kiddell, Mores
Kett, Reuben S
Kett, Aminadab
Keckwicke, Josiah
Lowger, Thos. Christian
Munck, Wm.
Myleham, Henry
Matthewman, Thomas
Mason, Alwyn
Mylum, Abraham C
Medcalf, Leonard C
Mayhew, Hezekiah
Neave, Arm
Neale, Jacques
Northen, Christian
Osborn, Zatthu
Price, Ahimelech
Panke, Sheckaniah
Pike, Henry
Patterson, Paul
Roe, Tobias C
Ransom, Icheil (*or* Jeheil)
Roe, Zechariah
Rust, Christian
Rose, Selah
Read, Price Stephen
Reeve, manna
Soames, Aaron, Major
Stangroom, Eleazer
Sheringham, Walter
Shepperl, Charles

Sharpen, Jacobus	Weeds, Amphilius
Snell, Robert	Woods, John C
Starlin, Edward	Waters, Bartolemew
Sewell, Samuel	Waddelow, Philip
Swann, Josua S	Weasey, John
Thurton, Wm. Valentine	Wilkerson, Wm.
Todd, Stephen	Willemons, Gabriel
Tillet, Ishmael	Wasey, Antoney
Taylor, Vilellius	Waynford, Antony
Tizack, Christopher	Youngs, Francis
Tuby, Zered	Yewell, Gordon
Toll, Israel	Ypres, Cornelius
Vickers, John	Yabbs, Peter
Vankamp, Hubert	Yewells, Christian
Ward, Willm.	Youngman, Gregory
Waymour, Wm.	Yeames, Robert
Wharle, Nicholas	Yorkshire, Samuel.

["I suppose S and C means Sergeants and Corporals." — *Correspondent.*]

No. 2.

Allwurd Promise	Peter A. Money	Julius Stannard
Cladius Batson	Israel Meeks	Danl. Staffort
Gilead Barker	Will Martin	Natl. Steele
Valentine Barker	John Mills	James Thompson
Henricus Clarke	Cristr. Mead	Jos. Watts
Alec Caulfield	Robert Mead	Malec Wats
James Culling	Hall Markston	Je'sophat Warnes
Sim Cross	Fred. Mallet	Henry Willson
Zack Dulwick	Mark Nicholls	Saul Wensun
Alfred Damant	Egbert Oaks	Oliver Weston
Kesiah Dannell	Caleb Pede	Isachar Watts
Joshua Flint	David Pascal	Thos. Zobell
Mathias Fox	John Pulfrey	Adolff Zobell
Will Gowan	Amos Pull	Shem Quarles
Paul Hales (*or* Halls)	Pious Stone	John Yellows
Septimus Lefranc	Walter Smidt	Alfred Love
Richard Lome	Ludwig Smidt	Simeon Waite.

"To these names nothing farther is written, beyond names of their Troops. I have written them *alphabetically* from my List, which is not so arranged." (*Note by my Correspondent.*)

Scrap 5.

"These are written on a Strip of Paper was enclosed in a Letter." (*Correspondent.*)

OC.	DC.	RC.	HC.	Ireton	Cole
HC.	JC.	VW.	D.	Rawlings	York
A.	B.	E.	J.	Rainsboro	Mewburn
		R.		Castle	Frisby
				White	Mossop
				Husbands	

"Copied as they stood in the original Paper. About the treasure going to London" (see *antea*, No. 16); "and I think, from the contents, took [*had taken*] College treasure." (*Correspondent.*)

Scrap 6.

"List of Names written on a Paper marked, *Hearty*. I have written them alphabetically for convenience, but they were not so in the Original." (*Correspondent.*)

Alister	Chapman	Fischer
Barnard, J.	Cromwell, O. senr.	Garland
Butler	Cromwell, R.	Hodges
Boyle	Cromwell, Thos.	Halles
Biglande	Cromwell, O. junr.	Hunt
Boucher	Cromwell, Richd.	Hobbard
Bussey	Cromwell, Henry	Holland
Berry	Desborow	Hawitson
Buckel	Desborow	Hawkins
Barnard, R.	Deane, H.	Henderson
Castles	Deane, R.	Hunt
Chambers, J.	Dinch	Hart
Compton	Dodsworth	Handley
Carter	Dawson, T.	Isham
Claypol	Dawson, S.	Ingolsby
Collins	Dawson, H.	Ireton, J.
Clarke	Everard, B.	Jones
Campin	Everard, R.	John
Cooke	Everson	Ingoldsby
Cutts	Ellis	Kincome
Chambers, W.	Freshwater	Knightley
Cox	Farside	Lemmen
Castel	Flutter	Lawsell
Cole	Frisby	Langley

Moulle	Rose	Tebbutt
Mewburn	Rawlen	Thornton
Montague	Reede	Warters
Montague, H.	Ricketts	Walls
Marten	Russell, J.	Wauton, V.
Masham	Ireton	Whally
Larance	Russell, R.	Whitston
Ayscouw	Russell, F.	Wright
Montague	Reynolds	White
Norton	Rainsforth	Walden
Neale	Richardson, J.	Woolward
Neve	Rawlinges	Weston
Nelson	Rich	Walton
Ord	Ayscogh	Wauton, J.
Poulton	Reachlous	Walden
Powell	Steward	Wright
Pye	Sprigges	Warnes
Pickerin	Stebbings	White
Pede	Sidney	Vanderay
Ayres	Speechley	York
Richardson, R.	Squire	Yewson.

"These several Lists are all that I copied; but I think the List 3" (*Scrap* 2 as given here) "contains names of the original Captains [*and Subalterns*] of Troops in the Ironsides; but I cannot say for certain. The large List" (*Scrap* 4) "was too far gone to touch, as it was perfectly red with damp, and rotten; so was burnt. These were in Letters and odd Papers. I have no others copied that I can find in my travelling Writingdesk; so suppose they are all I took." (*Correspondent.*)

Scrap 7.

"Written on a Letter, and marked *Settled.*" (*Correspondent.*)

Settled.	*Corporals:*	*Clerk:*
Collonel O. Cromwell	Cornelius Vanderay	Saml. Squire [*Self?*]
Cn. [*Captain*] J. Desboroh	Zosimus Rose [*the Drill-Corporal: Letter No.* 4.]	*Saddeler:* J. Tebbutt
Leutenant V. Wauton	Thomas Fischer	*Chirugeon:* Sl. Moule
Cornet E. Whally	*Trumpets:* Levi Allister [*your Music?*]	*Farrier:* Rd. Richardson.
Qr. Mr. R. Everard	Thos. Kincome	

Scrap 8.

"Memorandums on a Piece of Paper," in Squire's hand, "copied by me *verbatim*." (*Correspondent.*)

Buried near the Vestrey:

Enoch Soames	— — 50 horses shot to the death.
John Purfis	40 horses soreley wounded.
Simeon Wildes	30 men wounded soreley, yet
John Liffel	can Ride.
Benjamin Waster	10 unabel to Ride.
Noah Richardson	
Seth Richardson	Lent for the use of the Parle-
Levi Richardson	ment to pay the Souldiers. Hay
Cornelius Van Œst	and Corn
Caspar Dorflein	£160 10 4¾

Shot to the death at Ganesborow.

[*turns the leaf*]

£160 10 4¾

Note for its due payt. secured by Col. O. C.

504 19 6
160 10 4¾
665 9 10¾

Lent, to	£	s.	
Hiram Dawson		10	
Capn. Desboro'		60	
Colenl. Cromwell	£10	—	—
A new Cravatt		7	
A new Spurrs		5	
A feather for my Basnet		2	6
	£14	4	6
A new Staffe for ye Coloures		1	4
	14	5	10

Scrap 9.

Squire's Conspectus of the "St. Neot's Troop" is to be seen in *Scrap* 3. Captain Montague obtained Commission to raise a regiment of his own, "on the 20th August 1643," says Collins* — which I think, as "20th August" was a *Sunday*,

* Peerage (1741), ii. 281.

can hardly have been the exact day! However, raise a regiment he did, and even regiments; and here is Note of the first of them, — in Squire's handwriting:

Joined Montague's Lanciers.

Walter [*his name illegible*]	Wm. Partrige	Gabriel Womac
John Palmer	Collins Collins	Lemuel Gilbert
Saul Cobbham	John Skipon	Charles Hurst [*or* Harst]
Martin Saul	Walter Reachlous	Wm. Waters
Wolsey Clarke	John Evanson	May 24, 1644.
Stephen Willis	Wm. Ellis	
	Henry Johnson	

Explicit Squirus noster; as all things do end! Some three other Notes, written in abstruse cipher, and two of them bearing what I take to be Oliver's occult signature, and plainly Squire's address, — these I keep back, as too abstruse for any printer or any reader. And herewith let us close the Funeral Urn of the Ironsides, with its burnt bones of heroes, and ashes of mere wood; and, with deathless regrets against my Unknown Correspondent, and for the present some real thankfulness to Heaven, wash our hands of this melancholy affair.

T. Carlyle.

London, 2d Nov. 1847.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

LISTS OF THE EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

In the old *Parliamentary History*,* and in other Books, is given, "compiled from the Chancery Records and Commons Journals," a List of the Long-Parliament Members, arranged according to their Counties and Boroughs; which is very welcome to the historical inquirer. But evidently, for every purpose of historical inquirey connected with this Period, there is needed farther, — if not some well-investigated brief "Biographical Dictionary of the Long-Parliament Members," such as the pious historical student is free to imagine for himself, but will not soon get, — at least and lowest, some Alphabetical List of their Names; the ready index and memento of a great many things to us. As no such List was anywhere discoverable, I had to construct one for my own behoof; a process by no means difficult in proportion to its usefulness, the facts being already all given in the extant List by Places, and only requiring to be rearranged for the new object of a List by Names. This latter List, after long doing duty in the manuscript state, is now, for the use of others, appended here in print, — there being accidentally a corner of room for it in this New Edition.

It is not vitally connected with Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches; yet neither is it quite without relation to the man. Here are the Names of some five or six hundred men, whom Oliver Cromwell sat in view of, and worked along with, through certain years of time in this world; their Names and Localities, if we have nothing more. More is attainable concerning several of them, and is very well worth attaining; but little more, to the general reader, is yet attained. Fea-

* Parliamentary History (London, 1763), ix. 12-57.

tureless, to the general reader; little other than ticketed shadows, a strange san-hedrim of phantoms, most of these men;—not unlikely all of them to become shadows and invisible, except where kindled by some contact with this the luminous and living one! Here are their Names, at whatever worth the reader may put upon them: "adjoined" to the Name of Oliver in this place, but capable of being disjoined again; and perhaps worth printing, there being a corner of room for them.

What is a more questionable point, this List I am aware is not quite free from errors; one or two of which it has even fallen in my own way not only to surmise, but to prosecute to their source, and correct. Numerous I do not suppose them to be, nor important: but I cannot certify that there are none; nor help farther in removing what there may be. The List itself, once printed, offers to all studious persons the opportunity to help; which certainly it would be a beneficence of its sort if some strict antiquary, or series of antiquaries, would effectually do. The constituent elements of the "most remarkable Parliament that ever sat," — which indeed is definable as the Father of Parliaments, which first rendered Parliaments supreme, and has since set the whole world upon chase of Parliaments, a notable speculation very lively in most parts of Europe at this day, — deserve at least to have their names accurately given. They deserve, and perhaps they will one day get, much more; they deserve a History, constitutional, biographical, political, practical, picturesque, better than most Entities that yet have one among us; and, in all points of view, they will be found *not* imaginary but real, and well worth remembering and attending to. Meanwhile, in the absence of all History, constitutional or other, of the Long Parliament, let this imperfect foreshadow of the incipiency of one be welcome.

The asterisk *, prefixed to a Member's name, denotes that he was a "Recruiter" (see *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 201), not an original Member: "disab." means *disabled*, declared incapable of sitting henceforth, for some reason, generally for *Royalism*, for desertion to the King; the year when, is also indicated. "King's judge" is one nominated to that office, and only in part or not at all risking to perform it; "regicide"

is one who performed and completed it, who signed the Death-warrant: both titles, I find, are now and then, especially in the cases where nothing not already known was to be learned from them, omitted in this List. Other contractions will probably require no explanation.

Abbot, George, Esq. (dead '45) . .	*Guilford.*
*Abbot, George, Esq.	*Tamworth.*
Acton, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	*Bridgnorth.*
Aldburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	*Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Aldworth, Richard, Esq.	*Bristol.*
Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	*Arundel.*
Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (void, though twice)	*Tewkesbury.*
Alford, John, Esq.	*Shoreham.*
Allanson, Sir William, Knight (King's judge)	*York.*
*Allen, Francis, Esq. (King's judge)	*Cockermouth.*
*Allen, Matthew, Esq.	*Weymouth.*
Allestre, William, Esq. (Recorder; disab.)	*Derby.*
Alured, John, Esq. (regicide) . . .	*Heydon, Yorkshire.*
Anderson, Sir Henry, Knight (disab. '44)	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Andover, Charles, Viscount (e. s. of E. of Berkshire; made Peer '40, in his father's lifetime)	*Oxford.*
*Andrews, Robert, Esq.	*Weobly, Herefordshire*
*Anlaby, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Scarborough.*
*Annesley, Arthur, Esq.	*Radnorshire.*
*Apsley, Edward, Esq.	*Steyning.*
Armyn, Sir William, Baronet (King's judge)	*Grantham.*
*Armyn, William, Esq. (since '45) .	*Cumberland.*
*Arthington, Henry, Esq.	*Pontefract.*
Arundel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	(*St. Michaels*, but preferred) *Bodmin.*
*Arundel, John, Esq.	*West Looe.*
Arundel, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Lostwithiel.*
Arundel, Thomas, Esq. (died) . . .	*West Looe.*
*Arundel, Thomas, Esq.	*West Looe.*

*Ash, James, Esq.	*Bath.*
Ashburnham, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Hastings.*
Ashburnham, William, Esq. (army-plot '41, expelled)	*Ludgershall, Wilts.*
Ashe, Edward, Esq.	*Heytesbury, Wilts.*
Ashe, John, Esq.	*Westbury Wilts.*
Ashton, Ralph, Esq.	*Clithero.*
Ashton, Sir Ralph, Baronet	*Lancashire.*
Ashurst, William, Esq.	*Newton, Lancashire.*
*Atkins, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	*Norwich.*
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Knight	*Lincolnshire.*
*Ayscough, William, Esq.	*Thirsk.*
*Bacon, Francis, Esq.	*Ipswich.*
*Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq.	*Cambridge University.*
*Bagot, Sir Harvey, Knight (disab. '42)	*Staffordshire.*
Bagshaw, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Southwark.*
*Baker, John, Esq.	*East Grinstead.*
Baldwin, Charles, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Ludlow.*
*Ball, John, Esq. (dead '48)	*Abingdon.*
Bampfield, Sir John, Baronet	*Penryn.*
Barker, Anthony, Esq. (void)	*Wallingford.*
Barker, John, Esq., Alderman	*Coventry.*
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Knight	*Suffolk.*
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Bury St. Edmunds.*
Barnham, Sir Francis, Knight (dead '46)	*Maidstone.*
*Barrington, Sir John, Baronet (King's judge)	*Newton, Hants.*
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Bart. (dead '44)	*Colchester.*
*Barrow, Morris, Esq.	*Eye, Suffolk.*
Barwis, Richard, Esq. (died)	*Carlisle.*
Basset, William, Esq. disab. '44)	*Bath.*
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight (King's judge)	*Chippenham.*
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight	*Devizes.*
Bedingfield, Sir Anthony, Knight	*Dunwich.*
Bell, William, Esq.	*Westminster.*
Bellasis, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42. Yorkshire petition)	*Yorkshire.*

Bellasis, John, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition; made Lord '44) .	*Thirsk.*
Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart. (disab. '45)	*Westmoreland.*
*Bellingham, James, Esq.	*Westmoreland.*
Bence, Squire, Esq.	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Bence, Alexander, Esq. (succeeded Rainsborough)	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Bendlowes, Sir Robert, Knight . .	*Lancaster.*
*Bennet, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44) .	*Hindon, Wilts.*
Benson, Henry, Esq. (expelled '41, for selling protections)	*Knaresborough.*
Berkeley, Sir Henry, Knight (void)	*Ilchester.*
*Biddulph, Michael, Esq.	*Lichfield.*
*Bingham, John, Esq.	*Shaftesbury.*
*Birch, John, Esq. (the Colonel; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii. p. 34)	*Leominster.*
*Birch, Thomas, Esq. (from Oct. '49)	*Liverpool.*
Bishop, Sir Edward, Knight (void) .	*Bramber.*
*Blackiston, John, Esq. (regicide) .	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
*Blagrave, Daniel, Esq. (regicide) .	*Reading.*
*Blake, Robert, Esq. (the Admiral) .	*Taunton.*
Bludworth, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab.)	*Reigate.*
Bodville, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Anglesea.*
Bond, Dennis, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Dorchester.*
*Bond, John, LL.D.	*Melcomb Regis.*
*Boone, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	*Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness (Devonshire, united).*
*Booth, George, Esq. (May '46) . .	*Cheshire.*
*Booth, John, Esq.	*Portsmouth.*
*Borde, Herbert, Esq. (died . . .	*Steyning.*
Borlace, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Corfe Castle.*
Borlace, John, Esq. (void)	*Marlow.*
*Boscawen, Hugh, Esq.	*Cornwall.*
*Bosville, Godfrey, Esq. (King's judge)	*Warwick.*
*Boughton, Thomas, Esq.	*Warwickshire.*
*Bourchier, Sir John, Knight (regicide)	*Ripon.*

Bowyer, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '42, for Chichester garrison)	*Bramber.*
Bowyer, Sir William (died '40)	*Staffordshire.*
*Bowyer, John, Esq.	*Staffordshire.*
Boyle, Richard, Viscount Dungarvon (e. s. of E. of Cork, whom he succeeded in '43; disab. '43)	*Appleby.*
*Boynton, Sir Matthew, Bart. (dead '47)	*Scarborough.*
Boys, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '46)	*Dover.*
*Boys, John, Esq.	*Kent.*
Brereton, Sir William, Bart. (King's judge)	*Cheshire.*
Brett, Henry, Esq. (disab.)	*Gloucester.*
*Brewster, Robert, Esq.	*Dunwich.*
Bridgeman, Orlando, Esq. (Lawyer, see *D'Ewes*, 118; disab. for assisting Lord Strange '42)	*Wigan.*
*Briggs, Sir Humphrey, Knight	*Great Wenlock.*
Brooke, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43, for raising money in Lincolnshire)	*Appleby.*
*Brooke, Peter, Esq.	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Brown, Sir Ambrose, Baronet	*Surrey.*
*Brown, Richard, Esq.	*Romney.*
*Brown, Major-General Richard (disab. '49)	*Wycombe.*
Brown, Samuel, Esq.	*Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness* (united).
*Browne, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Dorsetshire.*
Broxholme, John, Esq. (dead '47)	*Lincoln.*
Buckhurst, Lord Richard (e. s. of E. of Dorset, disab. '44)	*Steyning, Sussex*, but prefers) *East Grinstead.*
*Bulkeley, John, Esq.	*Newton, Hants.*
Buller, Francis, Esq.	*East Looe.*
Buller, George, Esq. (died)	*Saltash.*
Buller, Sir Richard, Knight (dead '46)	*Fowey.*
*Burgoyne, Sir John, Baronet	*Warwickshire.*
*Burgoyne, Sir Roger, Baronet	*Bedfordshire.*
Burrel, Abraham, Esq. (King's judge)	*Huntingdon.*
Button, John, Esq.	*Lymington.*

Byshe, Edward, junior, Esq.	*Bletchingley.*
Cage, William, Esq. (dead '44)	*Ipswich.*
Campbell, James, Esq.	*Grampound.*
Campion, Henry, Esq.	*Lymington.*
Capel, Arthur, Esq. (created Lord, '41)	*Hertfordshire.*
Carew, Sir Alexander (treachery of Plymouth; beheaded '44)	*Cornwall.*
*Carew, John, Esq. (regicide)	*Tregony, Cornwall.*
*Carew, William, Esq.	*Milborn Port.*
Carnaby, Sir William, Knight (disab. '42)	*Morpeth.*
Catalyn, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Norwich.*
Cave, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '42)	*Lichfield.*
Cawley, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Midhurst, Sussex.*
Cecil, Robert, Esq. (2d s. of E. of Salisbury)	*Old Sarum.*
*Celye, Thomas, Esq.	*Bridport, Dorsetshire.*
*Chadwell, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	*St. Michaels, Cornwall.*
*Challoner, James, Esq. (King's judge)	*Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Challoner, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Charlton, Robert, Esq.	*Bridgnorth.*
Chaworth, Dr. (not duly)	*Midhurst, Sussex.*
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Knight	(*Beeralston, Devon*, but preferred) *Harwich.*
*Chettle, Francis, Esq.	*Corfe Castle.*
Cheyne, William, Esq. (died)	*Amersham.*
Chichely, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Cambridgeshire.*
Chomley, Sir Henry, Knight	*Northallerton.*
Cholmley, Sir Hugh (disab. '43)	*Scarborough.*
*Cholmley, Thomas, Esq.	*Carlisle.*
*Clark, Samuel, Esq.	*Exeter.*
*Clement, Gregory, Esq. (regicide disab. '52)	*Camelford.*
Clifton, Sir Gervase, Baronet (disab.)	*East Retford.*
Clinton, Lord Edward (e. s. of E. of Lincoln)	*St. Michaels, Cornwall.*
*Clive, Robert, Esq.	*Bridgnorth.*
Clotworthy, Sir John, Knight (disab., one of the 11)	(*Bossiney, Cornwall*, but prefers) *Malden, Essex.*

Coke, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Dunwich.*
Coke, Sir John, Knight	*Derbyshire.*
Colepepper, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44; made Lord 21 Oct. '44)	*Kent.*
Combe, Edward, Esq. (void)	*Warwickshire.*
Compton, Lord James (e. s. of E. of Northampton; disab.)	*Warwickshire.*
Coningsby, Fitzwilliam, Esq. (disab. '41, monopolist)	*Herefordshire.*
*Coningsby, Humphrey, Esq. (disab. '46)	*Herefordshire.*
*Constable, Sir William, Baronet (regicide; instead of Benson the jobber, and in preference to Deerlove, '42)	*Knaresborough.*
Constantine, William, Esq. (disab. '43)	*Poole.*
Cook, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	*Tewkesbury.*
Cook, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Leicester.*
*Copley, Lionel, Esq. (disab. with the 11)	*Bossiney.*
*Corbet, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Bishop's Castle, Salop.*
*Corbet, Sir John, Baronet	*Shropshire.*
Corbet, Miles, Esq. (regicide)	*Yarmouth.*
Cornwallis, Sir Frederick, Baronet (disab. '42, for sending officers from Holland)	*Eye, Suffolk.*
Coryton, William, Esq. (not duly).	*Launceston (alias Dunchevit).*
*Coventry, John, Esq. (2d s. of late Lord Keeper, disab. '42)	*Evesham.*
Cowcher, John, Esq.	*Worcester.*
Cradock, Matthew, Esq. (died '40)	*London.*
Cranbourne, Viscount Charles (e. s. of E. of Salisbury)	*Hertford.*
Crane, Sir Robert, Baronet (dead '44)	*Sudbury.*
Craven, John, Esq. (void; made Baron Craven 21 March '43)	*Tewkesbury.*
Creswell, Sergeant Richard	*Evesham.*
Crew, John, Esq.	*Brackley.*
Crispe, Sir Nicholas, Knight (expelled '41) for monopoly in copperas)	*Winchelsea.*

*Crompton, Thomas, Esq.	*Staffordshire.*
Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.	*Cambridge.*
*Cromwell, Richard, Esq.	*Portsmouth.*
Crooke, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43)	*Wendover, Bucks.*
*Crowther, William, Esq.	*Weobly.*
*Crynes, Elizeus, Esq.	*Tavistock.*
Curwen, Sir Patricius, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Cumberland.*
Curzon, Sir John, Baronet	*Derbyshire.*
*Dacres, Sir Thomas, Knight (instead of Capel)	*Hertfordshire.*
*Dacres, Thomas, Esq.	*Kellington.*
Dalston, Sir George, Knight (disab. '44)	*Cumberland.*
Dalston, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Carlisle.*
Danby, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Danvers, Sir John, Knight (E. Danby's brother; regicide)	*Malmsbury.*
*Darley, Henry, Esq.	*Malton.*
*Darley, Richard, Esq. (King's judge)	*Northallerton.*
Davies, Matthew, Esq. (disab. '43) .	*Christchurch, Hants.*
*Davies, William, Esq.	*Carmarthen.*
Deering, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab. '42, for printing his speeches) . .	*Kent.*
*Deerlove, William, Esq. (void) . .	*Knaresborough.*
Denton, Sir Alexander, Knight (disab. '44)	*Buckingham.*
*Devereux, George, Esq.	*Montgomery.*
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Baronet . . .	*Sudbury.*
Digby, Lord George (e. s. of E. of Bristol; till 10 June '41, writ to House of Peers).	(*Milborn Port*, but preferred) *Dorsetshire.*
Digby, John, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	*Milborn Port.*
Dives, Sir Lewis, Knight (disab.) .	*Bridport.*
*Dixwell, John, Esq. (regicide) . .	*Dover.*
*Dobins, Daniel, Esq.	*Bewdley.*
*Dodderidge, John, Esq.	*Barnstaple.*
*Dormer, John, Esq. (in '46) . . .	*Buckingham.*
*Dove, John, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Salisbury.*

*Downes, John, Esq. (regicide) . .	*Arundel.*
*Dowse, Edward, Esq. (dead '48) .	*Portsmouth.*
*Doyley, John, Esq.	*Oxford.*
Drake, Sir William, Knight . . .	*Amersham, Bucks.*
*Drake, Francis, Esq.	*Amersham.*
*Drake, Sir Francis, Baronet . . .	*Beeralston.*
Dryden, Sir John, Baronet	*Northamptonshire.*
Dunch, Edmund, Esq.	*Wallingford.*
Dutton, John, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Gloucestershire.*
*Earle, Erasmus, Esq.	*Norwich.*
Earle, Thomas, Esq.	*Wareham, Dorset.*
Earle, Sir Walter, Knight	*Weymouth.*
Eden, Thomas, LL.D. (dead in '44)	*Cambridge University.*
Edgcombe, Piers, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Camelford.*
Edgecumbe, Richard, Esq. (disab.) .	*Newport, Cornwall.*
*Edwards, Humphrey, Esq. (regicide)	*Shropshire.*
*Edwards, Richard, Esq. (Nov. '50)	*Bedford.*
*Edwards, Richard, Esq.	*Christchurch, Hants.*
*Edwards, William, Esq.	*Chester.*
*Egerton, Sir Charles, Knight . .	*Ripon.*
*Elford, John, Esq.	*Tiverton.*
Ellis, William, Esq.	*Boston.*
*Ellison, Robert, Esq.	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Erisy, Richard, Esq.	*St. Mawes. Cornwall.*
Eure, Sergeant Samuel (disab. '44) .	*Leominster.*
*Evelyn, George, Esq.	*Reigate.*
Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	*Bletchingley, Surrey.*
Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	*Ludgershall, Wilts.*
Eversfield, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	*Hastings.*
Exton, Edward, Esq.	*Southampton.*
*Fagg, John, Esq. (King's judge) .	*Rye.*
Fairfax, Lord Ferdinando (died '47)	*Yorkshire.*
*Fairfax, Sir Thomas, Knight (from 7 Feb. '49)	*Cirencester.*
Falkland, Lord (disab. '42, killed at Newbery, Sept. '43)	*Newport, Wight.*
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, K.B. (disab. '43)	*Hertford.*
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42)	*Lancaster.*
*Fell, Thomas, Esq. (after Fanshaw)	*Lancaster.*

Fenwick, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Morpeth.*
*Fenwick, George, Esq. (King's judge)	*Morpeth.*
Fenwick, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44)	(*Cockermouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
*Fenwick, William, Esq.	*Northumberland.*
Fernfold, Sir Thomas (dead '45)	*Steyning.*
Ferrers, Richard, Esq. (disab.)	*Barnstaple.*
Fettiplace, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Berkshire.*
*Fielder, John, Esq.	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*
Fiennes, Hon. James (e. s. of "Old Subtlety," Say and Seale)	*Oxfordshire.*
*Fiennes, Hon. John (3d s. of Subtlety)	*Morpeth.*
Fiennes, Hon. Nathaniel (2d s. of Subtlety)	*Banbury.*
Finch, Sir John, Knight (dead '44)	*Winchelsea.*
Fitzwilliam, Hon. William (e. s. of Lord Visc. Fitzwilliam; till Jan. '44)	*Peterborough.*
*Fleetwood, Charles, Esq.	*Marlborough.*
*Fleetwood, George, Esq. (regicide; succeeded Goodwin, '45)	*Buckinghamshire.*
Fleetwood, Sir Miles, Knight (died)	*Hindon, Wilts.*
Fountaine, Thomas, Esq. (in place of Hampden; dead '46)	*Wendover.*
*Fowel, Edmund, Esq.	*Tavistock.*
Fowel, Sir Edmund, Knight	*Ashburton.*
*Foxwist, William, Esq.	*Carnarvon.*
Franklyn, John, Esq. (dead '45)	*Marlborough.*
Franklyn, Sir John, Knight (dead in '48)	*Middlesex.*
*Frye, John, Esq. (King's judge; against the Trinity; disab. '51)	*Shaftesbury.*
Gallop, George, Esq.	*Southampton.*
Gamul, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44; see *Rushworth*, iv. 3)	*Chester.*
*Gardiner, Samuel, Esq.	*Evesham.*
*Garland, Augustin, Esq. (regicide)	*Queenborough.*
Garton, Henry, Esq. (dead '41)	*Arundel.*
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq.	*Thetford.*

*Gawen, Thomas, Esq.	*Launceston, alias Dunchevit.*
*Gell, Thomas, Esq.	*Derby.*
George, John, Esq. (disab.)	*Cirencester.*
Gerrard, Francis, Esq.	*Seaford (Cinque Ports).*
Gerrard, Sir Gilbert, Baronet	*Middlesex.*
Glanville, Sergeant John (instead of Humphrey Hooke, monopolist)	*Bristol.*
Glanville, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Camelford.*
Glynn, John, Esq. (Recorder; disab., one of the 11)	*Westminster.*
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab.)	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Helston, Cornwall.*
Godolphin, Sidney, Esq. (killed at Saltash '42)	*Helston.*
*Gold, Nicholas, Esq. (died)	*Fowey.*
Goodwin, Arthur, Esq. (died May '45)	*Buckinghamshire.*
Goodwin, Ralph, Esq. (disab. '44; Secretary to Rupert)	*Ludlow.*
Goodwin, Robert, Esq.	*East Grinstead.*
Goodwyn, John, Esq.	*Haslemere, Surrey.*
Gorges, Sir Theobald, Knight (disab. '44)	*Cirencester.*
Goring, Colonel George (disab. '42, for surrendering Portsmouth)	*Portsmouth.*
*Got, Samuel, Esq.	*Winchelsea.*
*Gourdon, Brampton, jun. Esq.	*Sudbury.*
Gourdon, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Ipswich.*
Grantham, Thomas, Esq.	*Lincoln.*
*Gratwick, Roger, Esq. (King's judge)	*Hastings.*
*Green, Giles, Esq.	*Corfe Castle.*
Greenville, Sir Bevil (disab. '42; killed at Lansdown, July '43)	*Cornwall.*
Grey, Henry de (commonly called Lord Ruthen; House of Peers, on father E. Kent's death, in '43)	*Leicestershire.*
Grey, Lord Thomas, of Groby (e. s. of E. of Stamford; regicide)	*Leicester.*
Griffith, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	*Downton, Wilts.*
Griffith, John, sen., Esq. (died '42)	*Beaumaris.*

Griffith, John, jun., Esq. (disab. '42).	*Carnarvonshire.*
Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (afterwards Sir)	*Colchester.*
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Bart. (dead '47)	*Harwich.*
*Grove, Thomas, Esq.	*Milborn Port.*
Hales, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab.)	*Queenborough, Kent.*
Hallows, Nathaniel, Esq. (Alderman)	*Derby.*
Hampden, John, Esq. (slain June '43)	(*Wendover*, but preferred) *Buckinghamshire.*
Harding, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '44)	*Bedwin, Wilts.*
*Harley, Edward, Esq. (till '47; one of the 11)	*Herefordshire.*
Harley, Sir Robert, K.B.	*Herefordshire.*
*Harley, Robert, Esq.	*Radnor.*
Harman, Richard, Esq. (dead '46)	*Norwich.*
*Harrington, Sir James, Knight (King's judge)	*Rutlandshire.*
*Harrington, John, Esq. (void)	*Somersetshire.**
*Harris, John, Esq.	*Launceston (alias Dunchevil).*
Harris, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Liskeard.*
Harrison, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43)	*Lancaster.*
*Harrison, Thomas, Esq. (Major-General, regicide)	*Wendover.*
Harrison, William, Esq. (disab. '43)	*Queenborough.*
Hartnoll, George, Esq. (disab.)	*Tiverton.*
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq. (instead of Smith; King's judge)	*Bedwin, Wilts.*
*Harvey, Edward, Esq.	*Higham Ferrers.*
Harvey, John, Esq. (dead '45)	*Hythe.*
Haselrig, Sir Arthur, Baronet (King's judge)	*Leicestershire.*
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq.	*Stamford.*
Hatton, Sir Christopher (disab. '42, array; made Baron '43)	(*Castle Rising*, but preferred) *Higham Ferrers.*

* Sat afterwards for Castle Carey, as appears; and took some dim meagre *Notes*, which are still in existence among the *Brit. Mus. Mss.*

Hatton, Sir Robert (in place of Sir Christopher; disab. '42)	*Castle Rising.*
*Hay, Herbert, Esq.	*Arundel.*
*Hay, William, Esq.	*Rye.*
Hayman, Sir Henry, Baronet	*Hythe.*
Hayman, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '41)	*Dover.*
Heblethwaite, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Malton.*
*Hele, Sir Thomas (disab.)	*Plimpton, Devon.*
Herbert, Edward, Esq. (till Jan. '41, made Attorney-General)	*Old Sarum.*
Herbert, Sir Henry, Knight (disab. '42, array)	*Bewdley.*
*Herbert, Henry, Esq.	*Monmouthshire.*
*Herbert 'John, Esq.	*Monmouthshire.*
*Herbert, Hon. James (2d s. of E. of Pembroke)	*Wiltshire.*
Herbert, Ld. Phil. (e. s. of E. of Pembroke)	*Glamorganshire.*
Herbert, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42, array)	*Montgomery.*
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab. killed at Edgehill)	*Cardiff.*
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	(*Woodstock*, but preferred) *Monmouthshire.*
Heveningham, William, Esq. (King's judge)	*Stockbridge, Hants.*
*Hill, Roger, Esq. (King's judge)	*Bridport.*
Hippesley, Gabriel, Esq. (void)	*Marlow.*
Hippesley, Sir John, Knight	*Cockermouth.*
*Hobart, Sir John, Baronet (dead '47)	*Norfolk.*
Hobby, Peregrine, Esq. (in place of Borlace)	*Marlow.*
*Hodges, Luke, Esq. (died)	*Bristol.*
Hodges, Thomas, Esq.	*Cricklade.*
*Hodges, Thomas, Esq.	*Ilchester.*
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42)	*St. Michaels.*
*Holcrofte, John, Esq.	*Wigan.*
Holland, Cornelius, Esq. (King's judge; in place of Roe)	*New Windsor.*
Holland, Sir John, Baronet	*Castle Rising, Norfolk.*

Holles, Denzil, Esq. (till '47; one of the 11)	*Dorchester.*
*Holles, Francis, Esq.	*Lostwithiel.*
Holles, Gervase, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Great Grimsby.*
Hooke, Humphrey, Esq. (monopolist, not duly: Evans's *Bristol*, p. 181)	*Bristol.*
Hopton, Sir Ralph, K.B. (disab. '42)	*Wells.*
*Horner, George, Esq. (void; Harrington's partner)	*Somersetshire.*
*Hoskins, Bennet, Esp.	*Hereford.*
Hotham, John, Esq. (beheaded 1 Jan. '44)	*Scarborough.*
Hotham, Sir John, Baronet (beheaded 2 Jan. '44)	*Beverley.*
*Houghton, Sir Richard, Bart. (from 45)	*Lancashire.*
*Howard, Lord Edward, of Escrick (in '49; disab. '51)	*Carlisle.*
Howard, Sir Robert, K.B. (disab. '42)	*Bishop's Castle, Salop.*
Howard, Thomas, Esq. (in place of Barker; disab. '44; D'Ewes, 219)	*Wallingford.*
Hoyle, Thomas, Esq. (Alderman)	*York.*
*Hudson, Edmund, Esq. (disab. '47)	*Lynn.*
Hungerford, Anthony, Esq. (disab.)	*Malmesbury.*
Hungerford, Sir Edward, K.B.	*Chippenham.*
*Hungerford, Henry, Esq.	*Bedwin, Wilts.*
Hunt, Robert, Esq. (void, but re-elected; disab. '44)	*Ilchester.*
*Hunt, Thomas, Esq.	*Shrewsbury.*
*Hussey, Thomas, Esq. (after Jervoise died)	*Whitchurch, Hants.*
*Hutchinson, John, Esq. (the Colonel; regicide)	*Nottinghamshire.*
Hutchinson, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead '44)	*Nottinghamshire.*
Hyde, Edward, Esp. (Clarendon; disab. '42)	*Saltash.*
Hyde, Sergeant Robert (disab. '42)	*Salisbury.*
*Ingoldsby, Richard, Esq. (the signer)	*Wendover.*
Ingram, Sir Arthur, Knight (died)	*Kellington.*

Ingram, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42, for Yorkshire petition) . . .	*Thirsk.*
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight	*Boston.*
*Ireton, Henry, Esq.	*Appleby.*
Jacob, Sir John, Knight (expelled '41, monopolist of tobacco) . . .	*Rye.*
Jane, Joseph, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Liskeard.*
Jenner, Robert, Esq.	*Cricklade.*
Jennings, Sir John, Knight (died '42)	*St. Albans.*
*Jennings, Richard, Esq. (succeeds Sir John)	*St. Albans.*
Jephson, William, Esq.	*Stockbridge, Hants.*
Jermyn, Henry, Esq. (disab. '43; Lord Jermyn)	*Bury St. Edmunds.*
Jermyn, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	*Bury St. Edmunds.*
Jervoise, Richard, Esq. (dead '45) .	*Whitchurch, Hants.*
Jervoise, Sir Thomas, Knight . .	*Whitchurch, Hants.*
Jesson, William, Esq. (Alderman) .	*Coventry.*
Jones, Arthur, Lord Ranelagh (disab.)	*Weobly.*
*Jones, John, Esq. (regicide) . .	*Merionethshire.*
*Jones, Colonel Philip (in Feb. '50)	*Brecknockshire.*
*Jones, William, Esq.	*Beaumaris.*
*Kekewich, George, Esq.	*Liskeard.*
*Kemp, John, Esq.	*Christchurch, Hants.*
Killegrew, Henry, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*West Looe.*
King, Richard, Esq. (disab. '43) . .	*Melcomb Regis.*
Kirkby, Roger, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	*Lancashire.*
*Kirkham, Roger, Esq. (dead '46) .	*Old Sarum.*
Kirle, Walter, Esq.	*Leominster.*
Kirton, Edward, Esq. (disab. '42) .	*Milborn Port.*
*Knatchbull, Sir Norton, Baronet .	*Romney.*
Knightley, Richard, Esq.	*Northampton.*
Knowles, Sir Francis, sen., Knight (died '48)	*Reading.*
Knowles, Sir Francis, jun., Knight (dead '45)	*Reading.*
Lane, Thomas, Esq.	*Wycombe.*
*Langton, William, Esq.	*Preston.*
*Lascelles, Francis, Esq. (King's judge)	*Thirsk.*

*Lawrence, Henry, Esq.	*Westmoreland.*
*Lechmere, Nicholas, Esq.	*Droitwich.*
Lee, Richard, Esq.	*Rochester.*
Lee, Sir Richard, Baronet (disab '42)	*Shropshire.*
*Leech, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '47)	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Leeds, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Steyning.*
Legh, Peter, Esq. (dead '41)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Legrose, Sir Charles, Knight	*Orford, Suffolk.*
*Leigh, Edward, Esq.	*Stafford.*
Leigh, Sir John, Knight	*Yarmouth, Wight.*
*Leman, William, Esq.	*Hertford.*
*Lenthall, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Gloucester.*
Lenthall, William, Esq. (Speaker)	*Woodstock.*
Leveson, Sir Richard, K. B. (disab. '42)	*Newcastle-under-Line.*
*Lewis, Ludovicus, Esq.	*Brecon.*
Lewis, Sir William, Baronet (disab., one of the 11, in '47)	*Petersfield.*
Lewkenor, Christopher, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Chichester.*
Lisle, John, Esp. (King's judge)	*Winchester.*
Lisle, Lord Philip (e. s. of Robert E. of Leicester; King's judge)	(*St. Ives, Cornwall*, but preferred *Yarmouth, Wight.*
Lister, Sir John, Knight (died)	*Hull.*
*Lister, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	*Lincoln.*
*Lister, Sir William, Knight	*East Retford.*
Littleton, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Staffordshire.*
Littleton, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Great Wenlock.*
Litton, Sir William, Knight	*Hertfordshire.*
*Livesey, Sir Michael, Baronet (regicide)	*Queenborough.*
Lloyd, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Carmarthen.*
*Lloyd, John, Esq.	*Carmarthenshire.*
Lloyd, Walter, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Cardiganshire.*
*Long, Lislebone, Esq.	*Wells.*
Long, Richard, Esq. (monopolist, not duly)	*Bristol.*
*Long, Walter, Esq. (instead of Ashburnham; one of the 11, in '47)	*Ludgershall, Wilts.*

*Love, Nicholas, Esq. (King's judge)	*Winchester.*
Low, George, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Calne.*
Lower, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	*East Looe.*
Lowry, John, Esq. (King's judge; see *Harris*, Appendix)	*Cambridge.*
Lucas, Henry, Esq.	*Cambridge University.*
*Luckyn, Capel, Esq.	*Harwich.*
*Lucy, Sir Richard, Baronet	*Old Sarum.*
Lucy, Sir Thomas, Knight (died '40)	*Warwick.*
*Ludlow, Edmund, Esq.	*Hindon, Wilts.*
Ludlow, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44)	*Wiltshire.*
*Ludlow, Lieut.-General Edmund (regicide)	*Wiltshire.*
Luke, Sir Oliver, Knight	*Bedfordshire.*
Luke, Sir Samuel, Knight (died)	*Bedford.*
Lumley, Sir Martin, Baronet	*Essex.*
Lutterel, Alexander, Esq. (dead '44)	*Minehead.*
Lyster, Sir Martin, Knight	*Brackley, Northamptonshire.*
*Mackworth, Thomas, Esq.	*Ludlow.*
Mallory, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43)	*Ripon.*
Mallory, William, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	*Ripon.*
Manaton, Ambrose, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Launceston (alias Dunchevit).*
Mansfield, Charles Viscount (e. s. of E. of Newcastle, disab. '44)	*East Retford.*
Marlot, William, Esq. (dead '46)	*Shoreham.*
Marten, Henry, Esq. (regicide)	*Berkshire.*
*Martin, Christopher, Esq.	*Plimpton.*
*Martin, Sir Nicholas, Knight	*Devonshire.*
*Masham, Sir William, Baronet (King's judge)	*Essex.*
*Masham, William, Esq.	*Shrewsbury.*
*Massey, Edward, Esq. (the soldier; disab., one of the 11)	*Wootton Basset.*
Masters, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '48)	*Canterbury.*
*Matthews, Roger, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness* (united).
Mauleverer, Sir Thomas, Baronet (regicide)	*Boroughbridge.*

May, Thomas, Esq. (not May, historian; disab. '42)	*Midhurst.*
*Maynard, Sir John, K. B. (disab., one of the 11)	*Lostwithiel.*
Maynard, John, Esq. (refusing *Newport, Cornwall*, whereupon Prynne)	*Totness.*
*Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide)	*Aylesbury.*
Melton, Sir John (died '40)	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Merrick, Sir John, Knight	*Newcastle-under-Line.*
Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44)	*Newton, Hants.*
Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Denbighshire.*
*Middleton, Thomas, Esq.	*Flint.*
Middleton, Thomas, Esq.	*Horsham.*
Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge)	*Malden.*
*Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; *D'Ewes*, 211, 13 Dec. '41)	*Nottingham.*
Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge)	*Reigate.*
Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42)	*Huntingdonshire.*
*Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney)	*Huntingdonshire.*
Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)*	*Huntingdon.*
*Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46)	*Ripon.*
Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44)	*Bishop's Castle.*
Moor, Thomas, Esq.	*Heytesbury.*
*Moor, Thomas, Esq.	*Ludlow.*
Moore, John, Esq. (regicide)	*Liverpool.*
More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49)	*Haslemere.*
Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49)	*Brecknockshire.*
Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge)	*Lewes.*
Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab. '42, for garrison there)	*Chichester.*
Mostyn, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Flintshire.*

A "George Montague" is also indisputably a member (*Commons Journals*, iv. 60), I know not for what place.

Mountford, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '44)	*Norfolk.*
*Moyle, John, Esq.	*East Looe.*
Moyle, John, jun. Esq. (dead '46)	*St. Germains.*
Musgrave, Sir Philip, Baronet (disab. '43, array)	*Westmoreland.*
Napier, Sir Gerard, Knight (disab. '44)	*Melcomb Regis.*
Napier, Sir Robert, Baronet	*Peterborough.*
Nash, John, Esq.	*Worcester.*
*Needham, Sir Robert, Knight	*Haverford West.*
*Nelthorp, James, Esq. (King's judge)	*Beverley.*
*Nelthorp, John, Esq.	*Beverley.*
*Nevil, —, Esq. (from '49)	*East Retford.*
*Neville, Henry, Esq. (from '50)	*Berkshire.*
Newport, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Shrewsbury.*
Newport, Sir Richard, Knight (disab.; made Lord '42)	*Shropshire.*
Nicholas, Edward, Esq. (Secretary after Falkland; disab.)	*Newton, Hants.*
Nichols, Anthony, Esq. (disab., one of the 11)	*Bodmin.*
Nichols, Sergeant Robert (King's judge)	*Devizes.*
*Nixon, John, Esq. (Alderman)	*Oxford.*
Noble, Michael, Esq.	*Lichfield.*
Noel, Hon. Baptist (e. s. of Viscount Camden; disab.)	*Rutlandshire.*
North, Sir Dudley, Baronet	*Cambridgeshire.*
North, Sir Roger, Knight (disab.?)	*Eye, Suffolk.*
Northcote, Sir John, Baronet	*Ashburton.*
*Norton, Sir Gregory, Baronet (regicide)	*Midhurst.*
*Norton, Richard, Esq. (Colonel)	*Hampshire.*
Nutt, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Canterbury.*
Ogle, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	*Winchester.*
Oldsworth, Michael, Esq.	(*Plimpton, Devon*, but preferred) *Salisbury.*
Onslow, Arthur, Esq. (void, but re-elected)	*Bramber.*
Onslow, Sir Richard, Knight	*Surrey.*
Osborne, Sir Edward, Knight (void)	*Berwick.*

*Owen, Arthur, Esq.	*Pembrokeshire.*
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight.	*Pembroke.*
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Knight (dead '44)	*Gatton.*
*Owfield, William, Esq.	*Gatton.*
Owner, Edward, Esq.	*Yarmouth.*
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq.	*Winchelsea.*
*Packer, Robert, Esq.	*Wallingford.*
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '42; array)	*Aylesbury.*
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	*Norfolk.*
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Stamford.*
*Palmer, John, M. D.	*Bridgwater.*
*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight (succeeded Legh in '42; disab. '44)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	*Rutlandshire.*
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	*Suffolk.*
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Seaford (Cinque Ports)*
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	*Guildford.*
Parry, George, LL. D. (disab. '44)	*St. Mawes.*
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	*Sandwich.*
Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '41)	*Somersetshire.*
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	*Barnstaple.*
*Peck, Henry, Esq.	*Chichester.*
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in tumults of 11)	*Grantham.*
*Pelham, John, Esq.	*Hastings.*
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide; *Heath*, p. 364)	*Hull.*
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet.	*Sussex.*
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's place, '49, House of Lords being abolished; died '50)	*Berkshire.*
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's judge)	*London.*
Pennyman, Sir William, Bart. (disab. '42)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Penrose, John, Esq.	*Helston.*
Percival, John, Esq. (dead in '44)	*Lynn.*
*Percival, Sir Philip, Knight (dead '47)	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Warwick.*
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Sandwich.*

Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44) . . .	*Ilchester.*
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet Dryden's; King's judge) . . .	*Northamptonshire.*
Pickering, Robert, Esq. (void '46) .	*East Grinstead.*
Piercy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of Northumberland's brother; expelled, Army-plot, '41; made Baron '43) .	(*Portsmouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl of Kingston)	*Nottingham.*
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2d s. of do.)	*Great Wenlock, Salop.*
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq.	*Nottinghamshire.*
*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49)	*Berkshire.*
Playters, Sir William, Baronet . .	*Orford, Suffolk.*
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Wootton Basset.*
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	*Honiton.*
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Tregony.*
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled '41, for plot of bringing up army) .	*Beeralston.*
Poole, Edward, Esq.	*Wootton Basset.*
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight	*Malmesbury.*
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47) . . .	*Merionethshire.*
Popham, Alexander, Esq.	*Bath.*
*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) .	*Minehead.*
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44) . .	*Minehead.*
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43) .	*Droitwich.*
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Taunton.*
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.)	*Plimpton.*
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died) . .	*Norfolk.*
*Povey, Thomas, Esq.	*Liskeard.*
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.)	*Radnorshire.*
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Brecon.*
Price, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '45) .	*Montgomeryshire.*
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet . . .	*Cardiganshire.*
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Merionethshire.*
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq.	*Lyme Regis.*
*Priestley, William, Esq.	*St. Mawes.*
Prynne, William, Esq.	*Newport,* * *Cornwall.*

* "Newport, soon after the Parliament sat;" not "Bristol in '45," as the *Parliamentary History* gives it.

Pury, Alderman Thomas (took notes. see Burton's *Diary*, where the name is, by mistake, printed "Davy")	*Gloucester.*
*Pury, Thomas, jun. Esq. (of Gloucester)	*Monmouth.*
*Pye, Sir Robert, Knight	*Woodstock.*
*Pym, Charles, Esq.	*Beeralston.*
Pym, John, Esq. (died Dec. '43)	*Tavistock.*
Pyne, John, Esq.	*Poole.*
*Radcliff, John, Esq.	*Chester.*
Rainsborough, Captain (died '41)	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Rainsborough, Colonel Thomas (killed at Doncaster, 29 Oct. '48)	*Droitwich.*
Rainsford, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '41)	*Andover.*
*Rainsford, Henry, Esq.	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*
*Raleigh, Carew, Esq.	*Kellington, Cornwall.*
Ramsden, Sir John (disab. for Selby fight '44)	*Northallerton.*
Rashleigh, Jonathan, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Fowey.*
Ravenscroft, Paul, Esq.	*Horsham.*
Reynolds, Robert, Esq. (King's judge)	*Hindon, Wilts.*
*Rich, Charles, Esq.	*Sandwich.*
*Rich, Nathaniel, Esq. (from Feb. '49)	*Cirencester.*
Rich, Robert Lord (e. s. of Robert E. of Warwick; called to Peers, Jan. 27, '41; *Rushworth*, iv. 4)	*Essex.*
Rigby, Alexander, Esq. (King's judge)	*Wigan.*
Rivers, —, Esq. (dead '41)	*Lewes.*
*Robinson, Luke, Esq.	*Scarborough.*
*Rochester, Charles Lord Viscount (e. s. of E. of Somerset)	*St. Michaels.*
Rodney, Sir Edward (disab. '42)	*Wells.*
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (not duly)	*New Windsor.*
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead in '44)	*Oxford University.*
Rogers, Hugh, Esq.	*Calne.*
Rogers, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Dorsetshire.*
Rolle, John, Esq.	*Truro.*
*Rolle, Sir Samuel, Knight (died)	*Devonshire.*
Rose, Richard, Esq.	*Lyme Regis.*
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq.	*Great Grimsby.*
Rouse, Francis, Esq.	*Truro.*

Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, Knight	*Wilton.*
*Russel, Francis, Esq.	*Cambridgeshire.*
Russel, Lord William, (e. s. of E. of Bedford; till '41)	*Tavistock.*
*Russel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Tavistock.*
St. Hill, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Tiverton.*
St. John, Sir Beauchamp, Knight	*Bedford.*
St. John, Oliver, Esq. (Sol.-Gen. in '40)	*Totness.*
Salisbury, John, jun. Esq. (disab. '44)	*Flint.*
*Salisbury, William, Earl of (in '49)	*Lynn.*
Salway, Humphrey, Esq. (Kings judge)	*Worcestershire.*
*Salway, Richard, Esq. (Kingsjudge)	*Appleby.*
Sanders, —, Esq. (not duly)	*Gatton.*
Sandys, Samuel, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Droitwich.*
Sandys, Thomas, Esq.	*Gatton.*
Sandys, William, Esq. (expelled '41, as monopolist)	*Evesham.*
*Saville, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	*Old Sarum.*
*Say, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Camelford.*
*Sayer, John, Esq.	*Colchester.*
*Scawen, Robert, Esq.	*Berwick.*
*Scot, Thomas, Esq. (dead '47)	*Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Scott, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	*Aylesbury.*
*Scudamore, James, Esq. (disab.)	*Hereford.*
Seabourne, Richard, Esq. (disab. '46)	*Hereford.*
Searle, George, Esq.	*Taunton.*
Selden, John, Esq.	*Oxford University.*
Seymour, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Devonshire.*
Seymour, Sir Francis, Knight (made Lord, '41)	*Marlborough.*
*Seymour, Sir John, Knight	*Gloucestershire.*
*Shapcot, Robert, Esq.	*Tiverton.*
*Shelley, Henry, Esq. (after Rivers)	*Lewes.*
Shuckburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab.; instead of Combe)	*Warwickshire.*
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq.	*Clitheroe.*
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq.	*Preston.*
Siddenham, Sir Ralph (in place of Clotworthy; disab. '42)	*Bossiney.*

*Owen, Arthur, Esq.	*Pembrokeshire.*
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight.	*Pembroke.*
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Knight (dead '44)	*Gatton.*
*Owfield, William, Esq.	*Gatton.*
Owner, Edward, Esq.	*Yarmouth.*
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq.	*Winchelsea.*
*Packer, Robert, Esq.	*Wallingford.*
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '42; array)	*Aylesbury.*
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	*Norfolk.*
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Stamford.*
*Palmer, John, M. D.	*Bridgwater.*
*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight (succeeded Legh in '42; disab. '44)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	*Rutlandshire.*
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	*Suffolk.*
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Seaford (Cinque Ports).*
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	*Guildford.*
Parry, George, LL. D. (disab. '44)	*St. Mawes.*
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	*Sandwich.*
Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '41)	*Somersetshire.*
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	*Barnstaple.*
*Peck, Henry, Esq.	*Chichester.*
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in tumults of 11)	*Grantham.*
*Pelham, John, Esq.	*Hastings.*
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide; *Heath*, p. 364)	*Hull.*
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet	*Sussex.*
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's place, '49, House of Lords being abolished; died '50)	*Berkshire.*
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's judge)	*London.*
Pennyman, Sir William, Bart. (disab. '42)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Penrose, John, Esq.	*Helston.*
Percival, John, Esq. (dead in '44)	*Lynn.*
*Percival, Sir Philip, Knight (dead '47)	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Warwick.*
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Sandwich.*

Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44) . . .	*Ilchester.*
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet Dryden's; King's judge) . . .	*Northamptonshire.*
Pickering, Robert, Esq. (void '46) .	*East Grinstead.*
Piercy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of Northumberland's brother; expelled, Army-plot, '41; made Baron '43) .	(*Portsmouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl of Kingston)	*Nottingham.*
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2d s. of do.)	*Great Wenlock, Salop.*
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq.	*Nottinghamshire.*
*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49)	*Berkshire.*
Playters, Sir William, Baronet . .	*Orford, Suffolk.*
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Wootton Basset.*
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	*Honiton.*
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Tregony.*
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled '41, for plot of bringing up army) .	*Beeralston.*
Poole, Edward, Esq.	*Wootton Basset.*
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight	*Malmesbury.*
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47) . . .	*Merionethshire.*
Popham, Alexander, Esq.	*Bath.*
*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) .	*Minehead.*
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44) . .	*Minehead.*
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43) .	*Droitwich.*
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Taunton.*
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.)	*Plimpton.*
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died) . .	*Norfolk.*
*Povey, Thomas, Esq.	*Liskeard.*
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.)	*Radnorshire.*
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Brecon.*
Price, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '45) .	*Montgomeryshire.*
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet . . .	*Cardiganshire.*
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Merionethshire.*
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq.	*Lyme Regis.*
*Priestley, William, Esq.	*St. Mawes.*
Prynne, William, Esq.	*Newport,* Cornwall.*

* "Newport, soon after the Parliament sat;" not "Bristol in '45," as the *Parliamentary History* gives it.

*Owen, Arthur, Esq.	*Pembrokeshire.*
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight.	*Pembroke.*
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Knight (dead '44)	*Gatton.*
*Owfield, William, Esq.	*Gatton.*
Owner, Edward, Esq.	*Yarmouth.*
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq.	*Winchelsea.*
*Packer, Robert, Esq.	*Wallingford.*
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '42; array)	*Aylesbury.*
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	*Norfolk.*
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Stamford.*
*Palmer, John, M. D.	*Bridgwater.*
*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight (succeeded Legh in '42; disab. '44)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	*Rutlandshire.*
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	*Suffolk.*
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Seaford (Cinque Ports).*
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	*Guildford.*
Parry, George, LL. D. (disab. '44)	*St. Mawes.*
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	*Sandwich.*
Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '41)	*Somersetshire.*
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	*Barnstaple.*
*Peck, Henry, Esq.	*Chichester.*
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in tumults of 11)	*Grantham.*
*Pelham, John, Esq.	*Hastings.*
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide; *Heath*, p. 364)	*Hull.*
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet	*Sussex.*
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's place, '49, House of Lords being abolished; died '50)	*Berkshire.*
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's judge)	*London.*
Pennyman, Sir William, Bart. (disab. '42)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Penrose, John, Esq.	*Helston.*
Percival, John, Esq. (dead in '44)	*Lynn.*
*Percival, Sir Philip, Knight (dead '47)	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Warwick.*
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Sandwich.*

Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44) . . .	*Ilchester.*
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet Dryden's; King's judge) . . .	*Northamptonshire.*
Pickering, Robert, Esq. (void '46) .	*East Grinstead.*
Piercy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of Northumberland's brother; expelled, Army-plot, '41; made Baron '43) .	(*Portsmouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl of Kingston)	*Nottingham.*
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2d s. of do.)	*Great Wenlock, Salop.*
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq.	*Nottinghamshire.*
*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49)	*Berkshire.*
Playters, Sir William, Baronet . .	*Orford, Suffolk.*
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Wootton Basset.*
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	*Honiton.*
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Tregony.*
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled '41, for plot of bringing up army) .	*Beeralston.*
Poole, Edward, Esq.	*Wootton Basset.*
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight	*Malmesbury.*
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47) . . .	*Merionethshire.*
Popham, Alexander, Esq.	*Bath.*
*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) .	*Minehead.*
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44) . .	*Minehead.*
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43) .	*Droitwich.*
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Taunton.*
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.)	*Plimpton.*
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died) . .	*Norfolk.*
*Povey, Thomas, Esq.	*Liskeard.*
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Radnorshire.*
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Brecon.*
Price, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '45) .	*Montgomeryshire.*
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet . . .	*Cardigansshire.*
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Merionethshire.*
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq.	*Lyme Regis.*
*Priestley, William, Esq.	*St. Mawes.*
Prynne, William, Esq.	*Newport,* * *Cornwall.*

* "Newport, soon after the Parliament sat;" not "Bristol in '45," as the *Parliamentary History* gives it.

*Owen, Arthur, Esq.	*Pembrokeshire.*
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight.	*Pembroke.*
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Knight (dead '44)	*Gatton.*
*Owfield, William, Esq.	*Gatton.*
Owner, Edward, Esq.	*Yarmouth.*
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq.	*Winchelsea.*
*Packer, Robert, Esq.	*Wallingford.*
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '42; array)	*Aylesbury.*
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	*Norfolk.*
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Stamford.*
*Palmer, John, M. D.	*Bridgwater.*
*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight (succeeded Legh in '42; disab. '44)	*Newton, Lancashire.*
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	*Rutlandshire.*
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	*Suffolk.*
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Seaford (Cinque Ports).*
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	*Guildford.*
Parry, George, LL. D. (disab. '44)	*St. Mawes.*
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	*Sandwich.*
Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '41)	*Somersetshire.*
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	*Barnstaple.*
*Peck, Henry, Esq.	*Chichester.*
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in tumults of 11)	*Grantham.*
*Pelham, John, Esq.	*Hastings.*
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide; *Heath*, p. 364)	*Hull.*
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet	*Sussex.*
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's place, '49; House of Lords being abolished; died '50)	*Berkshire.*
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's judge)	*London.*
Pennyman, Sir William, Bart. (disab. '42)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Penrose, John, Esq.	*Helston.*
Percival, John, Esq. (dead in '44)	*Lynn.*
*Percival, Sir Philip, Knight (dead '47)	*Newport, Cornwall.*
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	*Warwick.*
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Sandwich.*

Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44) . . .	*Ilchester.*
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet Dryden's; King's judge) . . .	*Northamptonshire.*
..ing, Robert, Esq. (void '46) .	*East Grinstead.*
..cy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of Northumberland's brother; expelled, Army-plot, '41; made Baron '43) .	(*Portsmouth*, but preferred) *Northumberland.*
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl of Kingston)	*Nottingham.*
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2d s. of do.)	*Great Wenlock, Salop.*
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq.	*Nottinghamshire.*
*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49)	*Berkshire.*
Playters, Sir William, Baronet . .	*Orford, Suffolk.*
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Wootton Basset.*
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	*Honiton.*
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) .	*Tregony.*
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled '41, for plot of bringing up army) .	*Beeralston.*
Poole, Edward, Esq.	*Wootton Basset.*
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight	*Malmesbury.*
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47) . . .	*Merionethshire.*
Popham, Alexander, Esq.	*Bath.*
*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) .	*Minehead.*
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44) . .	*Minehead.*
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43) .	*Droitwich.*
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Taunton.*
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Plimpton.*
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died) . .	*Norfolk.*
*Povey, Thomas, Esq.	*Liskeard.*
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Radnorshire.*
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.) . . .	*Brecon.*
Price, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '45) .	*Montgomeryshire.*
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet . . .	*Cardigansshire.*
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	*Merionethshire.*
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq.	*Lyme Regis.*
*Priestley, William, Esq.	*St. Mawes.*
Prynne, William, Esq.	*Newport*, * *Cornwall.*

* "Newport, soon after the Parliament sat;" not "Bristol in '45," as the *Parliamentary History* gives it.

Pury, Alderman Thomas (took notes. see Burton's *Diary*, where the name is, by mistake, printed "Davy")	*Gloucester.*
*Pury, Thomas, jun. Esq. (of Gloucester)	*Monmouth.*
*Pye, Sir Robert, Knight	*Woodstock.*
*Pym, Charles, Esq.	*Beeralston.*
Pym, John, Esq. (died Dec. '43)	*Tavistock.*
Pyne, John, Esq.	*Poole.*
*Radcliff, John, Esq.	*Chester.*
Rainsborough, Captain (died '41)	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
*Rainsborough, Colonel Thomas (killed at Doncaster, 29 Oct. '48)	*Droitwich.*
Rainsford, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '41)	*Andover.*
*Rainsford, Henry, Esq.	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*
*Raleigh, Carew, Esq.	*Kellington, Cornwall.*
Ramsden, Sir John (disab. for Selby fight '44)	*Northallerton.*
Rashleigh, Jonathan, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Fowey.*
Ravenscroft, Paul, Esq.	*Horsham.*
Reynolds, Robert, Esq. (King's judge)	*Hindon, Wilts.*
*Rich, Charles, Esq.	*Sandwich.*
*Rich, Nathaniel, Esq. (from Feb. '49)	*Cirencester.*
Rich, Robert Lord (e. s. of Robert E. of Warwick; called to Peers, Jan. 27, '41; *Rushworth*, iv. 4)	*Essex.*
Rigby, Alexander, Esq. (King's judge)	*Wigan.*
Rivers, —, Esq. (dead '41)	*Lewes.*
*Robinson, Luke, Esq.	*Scarborough.*
*Rochester, Charles Lord Viscount (e. s. of E. of Somerset)	*St. Michaels.*
Rodney, Sir Edward (disab. '42)	*Wells.*
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (not duly)	*New Windsor.*
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead in '44)	*Oxford University.*
Rogers, Hugh, Esq.	*Calne.*
Rogers, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Dorsetshire.*
Rolle, John, Esq.	*Truro.*
*Rolle, Sir Samuel, Knight (died)	*Devonshire.*
Rose, Richard, Esq.	*Lyme Regis.*
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq.	*Great Grimsby.*
Rouse, Francis, Esq.	*Truro.*

Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, Knight . . *Wilton.*
*Russel, Francis, Esq. . . . . *Cambridgeshire.*
Russel, Lord William, (e. s. of E. of Bedford; till '41) . . . . . *Tavistock.*
*Russel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Tavistock.*
St. Hill, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Tiverton.*
St. John, Sir Beauchamp, Knight . *Bedford.*
St. John, Oliver, Esq. (Sol.-Gen. in '40) . . . . . *Tolness.*
Salisbury, John, jun. Esq. (disab. '44) *Flint.*
*Salisbury, William, Earl of (in '49) . *Lynn.*
Salway, Humphrey, Esq. (Kings judge) . . . . . *Worcestershire.*
*Salway, Richard, Esq. (Kingsjudge) *Appleby.*
Sanders, —, Esq. (not duly) . . . *Gatton.*
Sandys, Samuel, Esq. (disab. '42) . *Droitwich.*
Sandys, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Gatton.*
Sandys, William, Esq. (expelled '41, as monopolist) . . . . . *Evesham.*
*Saville, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition) . . . . *Old Sarum.*
*Say, William, Esq. (regicide) . . *Camelford.*
*Sayer, John, Esq. . . . . *Colchester.*
*Scawen, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Berwick.*
*Scot, Thomas, Esq. (dead '47) . . *Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Scott, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) . . *Aylesbury.*
*Scudamore, James, Esq. (disab.) . *Hereford.*
Seabourne, Richard, Esq. (disab. '46) *Hereford.*
Searle, George, Esq. . . . . *Taunton.*
Selden, John, Esq. . . . . *Oxford University.*
Seymour, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Devonshire.*
Seymour, Sir Francis, Knight (made Lord, '41) . . . . . *Marlborough.*
*Seymour, Sir John, Knight . . . *Gloucestershire.*
*Shapcot, Robert, Esq. . . . . *Tiverton.*
*Shelley, Henry, Esq. (after Rivers) *Lewes.*
Shuckburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab.; instead of Combe) . . . . . *Warwickshire.*
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq. . . . *Clitheroe.*
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq. . . . *Preston.*
Siddenham, Sir Ralph (in place of Clotworthy; disab. '42) . . . . *Bossiney.*

*Sidney, Algernon, Esq. (after Herbert; King's judge)	*Cardiff.*
*Skeffington, Sir Richard, Knight (dead '47)	*Staffordshire.*
*Skinner, Augustin, Esq. (King's judge)	*Kent.*
*Skippon, Philip, Esq. (the soldier; King's judge)	*Barnstaple.*
*Skutt, George, Esq.	*Poole.*
Slanning, Sir Nicholas, Knight (disab. '42; killed at Bristol)	(*Plimpton, Devon*, but preferred) *Penryn.*
Slingsby, Sir Henry, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition; beheaded '58)	*Knaresborough.*
*Smith, John, Esq. (succeeds Lord Andover; soon disab.)	*Oxford.*
*Smith, Philip, Esq.	*Marlborough.*
Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Chester.*
*Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42)	*Bridgwater.*
Smith, Sir Walter, Knight (disab. '44)	*Bedwin, Wilts.*
*Smith, William, Esq. (disab.)	*Winchelsea.*
*Smyth, Henry, Esq. (regicide)	*Leicestershire.*
*Snelling, George, Esq.	*Southwark.*
Sneyd, Ralph, jun. Esq. (disab. '43, taken prisoner at Stafford)	*Stafford.*
Snow, Simon, Esq.	*Exeter.*
Soame, Sir Thomas, Knight	*London.*
*Spelman, John, Esq.	*Castle Rising, Norfolk.*
*Spring, Sir William, Baronet (after Jermyn)	*Burg St. Edmunds.*
*Springet, Herbert, Esq.	*Shoreham.*
Spurstow, William, Esq., merchant (dead '46)	*Shrewsbury.*
Stamford, Sir Thomas (not duly)	*Cockermouth.*
Standish, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44)	*Preston.*
Stanhope, Ferdinando, Esq. (4th s. of E. of Chesterfield; disab. '43)	*Tamworth.*
Stanhope, William, Esq. (disab.)	*Nottingham.*
*Stapleton, Bryan, Esq.	*Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
Stapleton, Sir Philip, Knight (disab., one of the 11; died '47)	*Boroughbridge.*

*Stapleton, Henry, Esq.	*Boroughbridge.*
Staply, Anthony, Esq. (regicide)	*Sussex.*
*Starre, Colonel —— (dead '47)	*Shaftesbury.*
Stawell, Sir John, K.B. (disab. '42)	*Somersetshire.*
Stephens, Edward, Esq. (two elections; not duly, then lost, at last duly; died)	*Tewkesbury.*
*Stephens, John, Esq.	*Tewkesbury.*
Stephens, Nathaniel, Esq.	*Gloucestershire.*
*Stephens, William, LL.D.	*Newport, Wight.*
Stepney, Sir John, Baronet (disab.)	*Haverford West.*
*Stockdale, Thomas, Esq.	*Knaresborough.*
Stonehouse, Sir George, Baronet (disab. '44)	*Abingdon.*
*Stoughton, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '45)	*Guildford.*
Strangways, Giles, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Bridport.*
Strangways, Sir John, Knight (disab. Sept. '42)	*Weymouth.*
Strickland, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43)	*Aldborough, Yorkshire.*
*Strickland, Walter, Esq. (from '45)	*Minehead.*
Strickland, Sir William, Knight	*Heydon, Yorkshire.*
*Strode, Sir Richard, Knight	*Plimpton.*
*Strode, William, Esq.	*Ilchester.*
Strode, William, Esq. (died '45)	(*Tamworth*, but prefers) *Beeralston.*
Sutton, Robert, Esq. (disab.; made Baron Lexington, 21 Nov. '45)	*Nottinghamshire.*
*Swynfen, John, Esq.	*Stafford.*
*Sydenham, William, jun. Esq.	*Melcomb Regis.*
Tate, Zouch, Esq. (Self-denying Ordinance)	*Northampton.*
Taylor, William, Esq. (instead of a monopolist; disab. '45, Siege of Bristol	*Bristol.*
Taylor, William, Esq. (in place of Waller; expelled May '41, on Strafford's account)	*New Windsor.*
*Temple, James, Esq. (regicide)	*Bramber.*
*Temple, Sir John, Knight	*Chichester.*
*Temple, Peter, Esq. (regicide)	*Leicester.*

Temple, Sir Peter, Baronet (King's judge)	*Buckingham.*
*Temple, Thomas, Esq.	*Huntingdon.*
*Terrick, Samuel, Esq.	*Newcastle-under-Line.*
Theloall, Simon, jun. Esq.	*Denbigh.*
*Thistlethwaite, Alexander, Esq.	*Downton, Wilts.*
Thomas, Edward, Esq.	*Okehampton, Devonshire.*
*Thomas, Isaiah, Esq.	*Bishop's Castle.*
*Thomas, John, Esq.	*Helston.*
Thomas, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Carnarvon.*
*Thompson, George, Esq.	*Southwark.*
*Thornhaugh, Francis, Esq. (dead '48)	*East Retford.*
*Thorpe, Sergeant Francis (King's judge)	*Richmond, Yorkshire.*
*Thynn, Thomat, Esq.	*Saltash.*
Thynne, Sir James Knight (disab.)	*Wiltshire.*
Toll, Thomas, Esq.	*Lynn.*
*Tolson, Richard, Esq.	*Cumberland.*
Tomkins, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Weobly.*
*Trefusis, Nicholas, Esq.	*Cornwall.*
Trenchard, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Wareham, Doretshire.*
*Trenchard, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Dorsetshire.*
Trevanion, John, Esq. (disab.; killed at Bristol)	*Lostwithiel.*
Trevor, Sir John, Knight	*Grampound.*
*Trevor, John, Esq.	*Flintshire.*
*Trevor, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Tregony.*
Trevor, Thomas, Esq. (till '44, then void)	*Monmouth.*
Tufton, Sir Humphrey, Knight	*Maidstone.*
Tulsey, Henry, Esq. (dead '44)	*Christchurch, Hants.*
Turner, Samuel, M.D. (disab. '44)	*Shaftesbury.*
*Twisden, Thomas, Esq.	*Maidstone.*
Upton, Arthur, Esq. (died '41)	*Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness* (united).
*Upton, John, Esq.	*Fowey.*
Uvedale, Sir William, Knight (disab.)	*Petersfield.*
*Vachel, Tanfield, Esq.	*Reading.*
Valentine, Benjamin, Esq.	*St. Germains.*

Vane, George, Esq. (disab.)	*Kellington.*
Vane, Sir Henry, Knight	*Wilton.*
Vane, Sir Henry, jun. Knight	*Hull.*
Vassal, Samuel, Esq., merchant	*London.*
*Vaughan, Charles, Esq.	*Honiton.*
*Vaughan, Edward, Esq.	*Montgomeryshire.*
Vaughan, Sir Henry, Knight (disab.)	*Carmarthenshire.*
Vaughan, John, Esq. (disab. '45)	*Cardigan.*
Venables, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Cheshire.*
*Venn, John, Esq. (regicide)	*London.*
Verney, Sir Edmund, Knight Marshall (killed at Edgehill, Oct. '42, where he bore the King's standard)	*Wycombe.*
Verney, Sir Ralph, Knight (disab. '45)	*Aylesbury.*
Vernon, Henry, Esq. (not duly)	*Andover.*
Vivian, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '44)	*Tregony.*
*Walker, Clement, Esq.	*Wells.*
Walker, Robert, Esq. (disab. '43)	*Exeter.*
Waller, Edmund, Esq. (in place of Lord Lisle; disab. '43)	*St. Ives, Cornwall.*
*Waller, Thomas, Esq.	*Bodmin.*
Waller, Thomas, Esq. (not duly)	*New Windsor.*
Waller, Sir William, Knight (instead of Vernon; one of the 11)	*Andover.*
Wallop, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44)	*Hampshire.*
*Wallop, Robert, Esq. (King's judge)	*Andover.*
Walsingham, Sir Thomas, Knight	*Rochester.*
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (regicide)	*Huntingdonshire.*
*Warmouth, —, Esq. (void)	*Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Warton, Michael, Esq. (disab. '44)	*Beverley.*
Warwick, Philip, Esq. (disab. '44)	(*Romney*, but preferred) *Radnor.*
Wastell, John, Esq.	*Malton.*
Watkins William, Esq. (void in '44)	*Monmouth.*
*Wayte, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	*Rutlandshire.*
*Weaver, John, Esq. (King's judge)	*Stamford.*
Weaver, Richard, Esq. (dead May '42)	*Hereford.*
*Weaver, Edmund, Esq. (after '46)	*Hereford.*
Webb, Thomas, Esq. (expelled '42, monopolist)	*Romney.*

Wenman, Thomas, Lord Viscount, in Ireland . . . . . *Oxfordshire.*
Wentworth, Sir George, of Wooley, Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition) . . . . . *Pontefract.*
Wentworth, Sir George, Knight (Strafford's brother, disab. '44) . *Pontefract.*
*Wentworth, Sir Peter, K.B. (King's judge) . . . . . *Tamworth.*
Wentworth, Lord Thomas (Earl of Cleveland's eldest son; to House of Peers, 25 Nov. '40, by writ) . . . *Bedfordshire.*
*West, Edmund, Esq. . . . . (*Wendover*, but preferred) *Buckinghamshire.*
*Weston, Benjamin, Esq. (King's judge) . . . . . *Dover.*
Weston, Nicholas, Esq. (disab. '42, for Goring's business) . . . . *Portsmouth.*
Weston, Richard, Esq. (disab.) . . *Stafford.*
*Westrow, Thomas, Esq. . . . . *Hythe* (*Cinque Ports*).
Whaddon, John, Esq. . . . . *Plymouth.*
Wheeler, William, Esq. . . . . *Westbury, Wilts.*
Whistler, John, Esq. (disab.) . . . *Oxford.*
Whitacre, Lawrence, Esq. (Borough being restored to its rights) . . *Okehampton, Devon.*
Whitaker, William, Esq. (dead '46) *Shaftesbury.*
White, John, Esq. (died '45) . . . *Southwark.*
White, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . . *Rye.*
*White, William, Esq. (Secretary to Sir T. Fairfax) . . . . . *Pontefract.*
Whitehead, Richard, Esq. . . . . *Hampshire.*
Whitlocke, Bulstrode, Esq. (in place of Hippesley) . . . . . *Marlow.*
Whitmore, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44) . . . . . *Bridgnorth*
Widdrington, Sir Thomas, Knight (*Rushworth*, ii. 179) . . . . . *Berwick.*
Widdrington, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42; killed at Worcester) . *Northumberland.*
*Willes, Henry, Esq. . . . . *Saltash.*

Williams, Sir Charles (dead '41) . .	*Monmouthshire.*
Wilmot, Henry, Esq. (expelled, Army-plot '41; made Baron '43) .	*Tamworth.*
*Wilson, Rowland, Esq. (Alderman of London; King's judge) . . .	*Calne.*
Windebank, Sir Francis, Knight (Secretary; fled '41)	*Corfe Castle.*
Wingate, Edward, Esq.	*St. Albans.*
*Winwood, Richard, Esq.	*New Windsor.*
Wise, —, Esq. (died before '41) . .	*Devonshire.*
Wogan, John, sen. Esq. (dead '44) .	*Pembrokeshire.*
*Wogan, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) .	*Cardigan.*
Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Baronet .	*Thetford.*
Worsley, Sir Henry, Baronet . . .	*Newport, Wight,*
Wray, Sir Christopher, Knight (dead '45)	*Great Grimsby.* *Lincolnshire.*
Wray, Sir John, Baronet	*Great Grimsby.*
*Wray, William, Esq.	*Bridgwater.*
Wroth, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '44)	
*Wroth, Sir Thomas, Knight (King's judge)	*Bridgwater.* *Droitwich.*
*Wylde, Edmund, Esq. (King's judge)	
Wylde, Sergeant John	*Worcestershire.*
Wyndham, Edmund, Esq. (expelled '41, monopolist)	*Bridgwater.*
*Wynn, Sir Richard, Knight . . .	*Carnarvonshire.*
Wynn, Sir Richard, Baronet (dead '49)	*Liverpool.*
Yelverton, Sir Christopher, Knight	*Bossiney.*
Young, Sir John, Knight	*Plymouth.*
Young, Walter, Esq.	*Honiton.*

LISTS OF THE EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

THE Committee Lists of the Eastern Association are taken from *Husband's second Collection*,* where, in three successive general Acts, dated 1st April 1643, 7th May (and 1st June) 1643, and 3d August 1643,—followed by a few partial amendments and enlargements for specific places, at different dates, — the Committees of all Parliamentary or Anti-Royalist Counties and principal Boroughs, as settled at that stage of the contest, are named. Earlier and earliest Committees are in *Husband's First Collection*** and elsewhere; but these, as transient and now abrogated combinations, do not concern us here.

The Committee of April is named for managing the *Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates;* those of May and August for raising money by other methods, chiefly by *Weekly Assessments;* and each has its specific Act and instructions; but as the essential business of all these Committees was to carry on the War by furnishing the sinews of war, and as, with trifling variations, the same persons sat on all, it may well be imagined their functions, even to the members themselves, became gradually much blended; and for us they have become inextricably blended, or not worth the huge labour of attempting to extricate and distinguish. Committees, all, essentially of Finance and general Administration; appointed, we may say, to care generally that the Parliamentary Cause suffer no damage by lack of money or otherwise, — against whom, and their despotic procedure, rise loud complaints and denunciations in the old Pamphlets of a royalist or neutral stamp. An assiduous hand, searching on my behalf through every corner of these Lists and Supplementary Lists, as they lie in bewildering disorder, scattered over the vast surface of *Husband*, — has pain-

* Collection of all the Public Orders, Ordinances &c. of Parliament, from March 1642-3 to December 1646: Printed for Edward Husband (London, folio, 1646).

** An exact Collection of all Remonstrances, &c. &c. (London, small 4to, *1643*): *Printed for* Edward Husbands (*sic.*) p. 891 &c.

fully added to each Name an exact note of the several Comittees on which he sat: but, not to encumber the Printer and the Reader with what would little if in any degree profit, I have omitted these specialties at present,—all but the following two:

Under date 10th August 1643 (with Supplementary or subsequent Acts, in some cases) is a particular settling and assorting of the Association Committees as a distinct body; with instructions and directions; directing, for one thing, how they are to choose the Central Committee which sits at Cambridge; — indicating to us who they now are, and most probably who they were hitherto, that showed themselves most and took the chief management: these, as in some sort peculiar, I have found good to note: all that sit on this Committee are distinguished by an asterisk (*); those that sit on this only, or are new men at the passing of the Act, have their names printed in *italics*. And observe here: *Among* those of the asterisk the "Deputy Lieutenant's," appointed long before and with superior powers, of whom there is sometimes mention in *Oliver's Letters* and elsewhere, will be found; but not in a distinguishable state: their names as a body, though "read publicly" in 1642, and even ordered to be printed,* do not occur in *Husband*. This is the *first* specialty of indication attempted here. Then *secondly*, under date 15th Feb. 1644-5, on Fairfax's appointment to be Commander-in-chief, there occurs a revision or new-model of Committees, in the Association as everywhere else, for raising assessments to support Fairfax: such men as were *added* for serving on this Committee, are designated by an (*f.*). Farther distinctions, as threatening rather to confuse than illuminate the reader, are not given at present.

Our only change from those Lists of Husband's is the arrangement, an important and indispensable one, in alphabetical order; and the correction of what mistakes were palpable, — the number and nature of which still testify how hurriedly that old Parliamentary operation, in all stages of it, was done. The spelling especially, with its incessant variations, has been an intricate business, not to be settled sometimes except partly by guess. Our "Esq.," "Gent.," and occasional omission of all Title, are correctly what we find in the old Book.

* Names "read before the House," 17th March 1641-2 (Commons Journals, ii. 483); ordered "to be printed," 6th Oct. following (*ib.* 797): not given in either case.

Under the given circumstances, Husband's Lists may be taken as substantially correct: but of course those Committees, even for specified objects, were liable, at all times, both to be supplemented and to be sifted down; which renders their exact composition a fluctuating object, dependent on date in some measure.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Cambridgeshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 15th September), p. 16, p. 322; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 21 June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 169, p. 225, p. 6 Appendix, p. 329; Association specially 10th August (and 4th September), p. 284, p. 308. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644-5, p. 603.

Those that sat exclusively on this Fairfax Committee have an (*f.*) appended; those of 10th August (among whom are the Deputy-Lieutenants) are marked with an asterisk (*), and such of them as were then *new* are in italics: (*e.*) means, For Ely only; (*t.*), For Town and University only.

Aldmond, Edward. (*t. f.*)
*Becket, Thomas, Esq.
*Bendish, Thomas, Esq.
Blackley, James. (*t. f.*)
**Browne*, —
Browning, Edward, Esq.
Butler, Henry, Esq.
Butler, Nevill, Esq.
*Castle, Robert, Esq.
*Castle, Thomas, Esq.
Chennery,* John, Esq. (*f.*)
Clapthorn, George, Esq.
Clark, Edward, Esq.
*Clark, Robert, Esq.
**Clench, Edward, Esq.*
Clopton, Walter, Esq.
**Cooke, Thomas, Esq.*
*Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.
*Cutts, Sir John, Kt.

* Spelt also *Chymery*.

Dalton, Michael, jun. Esq.
Dalton, Michael, sen. Esq. (*f.*)
Desborow, Isaac.
Diamond, Tristram, Gent. (*e. f.*)
*Ducket, Thomas, Esq.
Eden, Dr. (*f.*)
Fiennes, Ald. (*t. f.*)
Fisher, William, Esq.
**Foxton, Richard, Esq.*
French, Thomas. (*t.*)
*Hobart, John, Esq.
Hynde, Robert.
Janes, William, Esq. (*f.*)
Leeds, Edward, Esq.
Lowry, John. (*t.*)
Male, Edmund.
*March, Humberston, Esq.
*Marsh, William, Esq.
*Martin, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Mayor for the time being. (*t.*)

North, Sir Dudley, Kt.
Parker, Thomas, Esq.
Partridge, Sir Edward, Kt. (*e. f.*)
Pepys, Samuel, Esq.
Pepys, Talbot, Recorder. (*t.*)
*Pope, Dudley, Esq.
Raven, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Reynolds, James, Esq. (*f.*)
Reynold, Sir James. (*f.*)
Robson, Robert. (*t.*)
*Russel, Francis, Esq.
Russel, Killiphet, Esq. (*f.*)
Sandys, Sir Miles, Kt.
Sherwood, John. (*t.*)
Smith, Henry.
*Spalding, Samuel. (*t.*)
Staughton, Robert.
Story, Philip, Esq.
Stone, Richard, M.D. (*e. f.*)
Symonds, Thomas, Esq.
*Thompson, James, Esq.
Towers, John, Esq.
Walker, Thomas.
*Welbore, John, Esq.
Welbore, William. (*t.*)
Wendy, Francis, Esq.
Wright, John.

* Spelt also *Sands, Sandes, Sandis.*

ESSEX.

Essex Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 1st June), p. 17, p. 194; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 170, p. 194, p. 7 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 603.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively *Fairfax* men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*c.*) means, For Colchester.

Adams, Thomas, of Thaxted, Gent.
Allen, Isaac, of Haseley, Esq.
Alliston, John, Gent.
*Atwood, John, Esq.
*Atwood, William, Esq.
Aylet, Jeremy, Esq.
Aylett, Thomas, of Kelldon, Gent.
Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq.
*Barnardiston, Arthur, Esq.
Barrington, Henry, Gent. (*c.*)
Barrington, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
Barrington, Sir John, Kt.
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Berkhead, Edward, Esq.
Bourn, Robert, Esq.
Brook, John, Esq.
Burket, John, Esq.
Buxton, Robert, Gent. (*c.*)
*Calthorp, Robert, Esq.
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Clapton, Thomas, Esq.
Cletheroe, Captain.
Collard, William, Esq.
Cook, William, Ald. (*c.*)
Cooke, Thomas, Esq.
Cooke, Thomas, Gent.
Crane, Robert, Esq.

* Spelt also *Aliston, Eliston* &c. &c.

Eden, John, Esq.
*Eldred, John, Esq.
*Everard, Sir Richard, Bart.
Farr, Henry, Esq.
Fenning, John, Gent.
Friborne, Samuel, Esq.
Gambeil,* James, Esq. (*f.*)
Goldingham, William, Esq.
Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (also *c.* Recorder.)
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Bart.
*Harlackenden, Richard, Esq.
Harlackenden, William, Gent.
Harrison, Ralph, Ald. (*c.*)
Harvey, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Hawkin, Richard, of Harwich, Gent.
Herne, James, Esq.
Hicks, Sir William, Bart.
*Holcroft, Sir Henry, Kt.
*Honywood, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Jocelyn, John, Esq. (also *c.* Deputy Recorder.)
Johnson, Thomas. (*c.*)
Kemp, Sir Robert, Kt. (*f.*)
Langley, John, of Colchester, Esq. (also *c.*)
Langton, John, Gent. (*c.*)
Lumley, Sir Martin, Bart.
Luther, Anthony, Esq.
Maidstone, Robert, Gent.
Martin, Sir William, Kt.
Masham, Sir William, Bart.
Masham, William, Esq.
Matthews, Joachim, Esq. (*f.*)
Mayor for the time being. (*c.*)
Mead, John, Esq.
*Middleton, Timothy, Esq.
Mildmay, Cary, Esq.
Mildmay, Henry, of Graves, Esq.
Mildmay, Sir Henry, of Wansted, Bart.
Nicholson, Francis, Gent.
**Palmer, Edward, Esq.*
Pike, John, Esq.
Plume,* Samuel, Gent.
Raymond, Oliver, Esq.
*Reade, Dr. of Birchanger.
*Rowe, Sir William, Kt.
*Sayer, John, Esq.
Shaw, John, jun. Gent. (*f.*)
Sheffield, Samson, Esq. (*f.*)
Smith, Robert, Esq.
*Sorrell,** John, Esq.
Stonehard, Francis, Esq.
Talcot, Robert, of Colchester, Gent.
Talcot, Thomas, Gent. (*f.*)
Thomas, Captain.
Thorogood, George, Esq.
Thorogood, John, of Walden, Gent.
*Tindall, Deane, Esq.
Topsfield, —, Esq. (*f.*)
Turner, William, of Wimbish, Gent.
*Umphrevill,*** William, Esq.
Vesey, Robert, Gent.
Wade, Thomas, Ald. (*c. f.*)
Walton, George, Esq.
Ward, Ald. (*c.*)
Watkins, John, Esq.
Whitcombe, Peter, Esq.
Williamson, Francis, of Walden, Gent.
*Wincall, Isaac, Gent.

* Spelt also *Cambell.*

* Spelt also *Plum, Plumme, Plain, Playne, Plague.*
** " " *Serrill* and *Correll.*
*** " " *Humfreville*, &c.

Wiseman, Henry, Esq.
Wiseman, Richard, Gent.
Wiseman, Robert, of Mayland, Esq.
Wright, John, Esq.
**Young, John, Gent.*
Young, Robert, Esq.

* Spelt also *Weight.*

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Hertfordshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplements, 1st June, 21st June), p. 18, p. 194, p. 225;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329; — Associatton specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 604.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August; (*a.*) means, For St. Albans.

Atkins, Edward, Esq., Sergeant-at-law.
*Barber, Gabriel, Esq.
Carter, William, of Offley, Gent.
Cecil, Robert, Esq.
Combes, Toby, Esq.
Cranbourne, Charles Lord Viscount.
Dacres, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Fairecloth, Litton, Esq.
*Freeman, Ralph, Esq.
Garret, Sir John, Bart.
Harrison, Sir John.
*Heydon, John, Esq.
Humberston, John, sen. Gent.
Jennings, Richard, Esq.
*King, Dr. John, M.D.
*Leman,** William, Esq.
Litton, Rowland, Esq. (*f.*)
Litton, Sir William, Kt.
Lucy, Sir Richard, Bart. (*f.*)
Marsh, John, Gent.
Mayor for the time being. (*a.*)
Mayor of Hertford for the time being.
Meade, Thomas, Gent.
*Mewtys, Henry, Esq.
Norton, Gravely, Esq.
Pemberton, John, Esq.
*Pemberton, Ralph, Esq. (*a.*)
*Porter, Richard, Esq.
*Priestley, William, Esq.
Puller, Isaac, Gent.
*Read, Sir John, Bart.
*Robotham, John, Esq. (*a.*)
Sadler, Thomas, Esq.
*Scroggs, John, Esq.
Tooke, John, Esq.
*Tooke, Thomas, Esq.
*Washington, Adam, Esq.
*Wilde, Alexander, Esq.
Wingate, Edward, Esq.
Witterong, Sir John, Kt.

* Spelt also *Gerrat* and *Jerratt.*
** „ „ *Leaman, Lemon,* &c. &c.

* Spelt also *Whitterong, Whitterronge, Wittewrong, Witewrong, Witterounge,* and *Witteroung.*

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Huntingdonshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 8th July), p. 18, p. 229; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 604.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics.

Armyn, Sir William, Bart. (*f.*)
Bonner, John, Gent. (*f.*)
Bulkley, John, Esq.
*Burrell, Abraham, Esq.
Castle, John, Esq.
Cotton, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.
Desborow, Isaac, Gent.
Drury, William. (*f.*)
**Fullwood, Gervaise, Gent.*
**Harvey, Robert, Gen.*
Hewet, Sir John, Kt.
Ingram, Robert, Gent.
*Joceline, Terrill, Esq.
King, William, Gent.
*Montague, Edward, Esq.
Montague, George, Esq. (*f.*)
Offley, John, Gent.
Petton, John, Gent.
*Temple, Thomas, Esq.
**Vintner, Robert, Gent.*
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (*f.*)
*Winch, Onslow, Esq.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lincolnshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April, p. 18; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 329. 3d July 1644 (County now got; corresponds to 10th August 1643, for the other Counties), p. 515. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5 (with Supplements, 3d April, 11th August), p. 604, p. 633, p. 707.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 3d July 1644, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*l.*) means, For Lincoln.

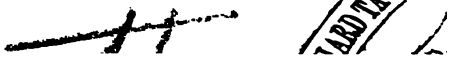
Anderson, Edmund, Esq.
Archer, John, Esq.
Armyn, Sir William, Bart.
**Ashton, Peter, Esq.*
**Askham, Thomas.*
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Kt.
Ayscough, Edward, Esq.
Bernard, John, Gent.
Bowtal, Barnaby, Esq.
Brassbridge, Ald. (*f. l.*)
*Browne, John, Gent.
Brownlow, Sir John, Bart.

Brownlow, Sir William, Bart.
Broxholme, John, Esq. (also *l.*)
Bryan, Richard, Esq.
Bury, William, Esq.
*Cave, Morris, Esq.
Cawdron, Robert, Esq.
*Cholmley, Montague, Esq.
*Coppledike, Thomas, Esq.
*Cornwallis, Thomas, Esq.
*Cust, Samuel, Esq.
Davison, William, Gent. (*f.*)
Dawson, Stephen, Ald. (*l.*)
*Disney, John, sen. Esq.
*Disney, Mollineux, Esq.
Disney, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
**Disney, William, Esq.*
*Ellis, Edmund, Esq.
Ellis, William, Esq.
*Emmerson, Alexander, Esq.
*Empson, Charles, Esq.
Empson, Francis, Gent. (*f.*)
*Erle, Sir Richard, Bart.
Escote, Captain.
Filkin, Richard, Gent. (*f.*)
*Fines, Francis, Esq.
Fisher, Francis, Esq. (*f.*)
Grantham, Thomas Esq. (also *l.*)
**Godfrey, William, Esq.*
*Hall, Charles, Esq.
Hall, —, of Kettlethorp, Esq.
Hall, Thomas, Gent.
Harrington, James, Esq. (*f.*)
Harrington, John, Esq.
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq.
Hitchcott, Edmund, Esq.
Hickman, Willoughby, Esq.
Hobson, John, Gent. (*f.*)
*Hobson, William, Esq.
Hudson, Christopher, Esq.
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight.
*Irby, Thomas, Esq.

* Spelt also *Burg* and *Berry.*

Johnson, Martin, Gent.
King, Edward, Esq.
**Knight, Isaac.*
Leigh, Samuel, Esq.
Lister, Thomas, Esq.
*Lister, William, Esq.
*Luddington, William, Esq.
Marshal, William, Mayor. (*l.*)
Massinbeard, Draynard, Esq.
*Massinbeard,** Henry, Esq.
Massingden, —, Esq.
Mayor of Boston for the time being.
Mayor of Lincoln for the time being. (*l.*)
*Miscendyne, Francis, Esq.
Moorcroft, Robert, Ald. (*l.*)
Munckton, Michael, Gent. (*f.*)
*Nelthorp, Edward, Esq.
Nelthorp, John, Esq. (*f.*)
*Nethercote, Thomas, Gent.
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Kt.
Owfield, William, Esq. (*f.*)
*Parkins, Wyat, Gent.
*Pelham, Henry, Esq.
**Pierpoint, Francis, Esq.*
Rawson, Nehemiah, Gent.
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq. (the Colonel.)
Rossiter, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Samuel, Arthur, Esq. (*f.*)
Savile, Thomas, Esq.
*Savile, William, Esq.
Sheffield, John, Esq.
Skipworth, Edward, Esq.
Tharrald, Nathaniel, Gent.
*Thompson, William, Gent.
Tilson, Edmund, Esq.

* Spelt also *Massingbeard, Massingberde, Massingburgh, Massinbred,* and *Massinberg.*



*Trollop, James, Gent.
Trollop, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Walcott, Humphrey, Esq.
Watson, William, Ald. (*l.*)
Welby, Thomas, Gent.
*Welcome, Thomas, Esq.
Whitchcot, Edward, Esq.
Whitchcot, Sir Hamond, Kt.
Whiting, John, Gent. (*f.*)
Willesby, John, Esq.
Williamson, Richard, Esq. (*f.*)
Williamson, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Willoughby, Hickman, Esq.
Willoughby, Lord Francis, of Parham.
Wincopp,* John, Gent.
*Woolley, William, Esq.
Wrath, John, Esq.
Wray, Sir Christopher, Kt.
Wray, Sir John, Bart.
Wray, John, Esq.

* Spelt also *Wincock* and *Wincocks*.

NORFOLK.

Norfolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 18th April), p. 19, p. 38; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 283. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 605.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*n.*) means, For Norwich.

*Ashley, Sir Edward, Kt.
*Ashley, Sir Isaac, Kt.
Bailiffs of Yarmouth.
Bainham, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
Baker, Thomas, Esq. (*n.*)
Barkham, Sir Edward, Bart.
Barret, Christopher, Esq. (*n.*)
Barret, Thomas, Sheriff. (*n. f.*)
Beddingfield, Philip, Esq.
Berkham, John.
Berney,* Sir Richard, Bart.
Blofield, Jeremy, of Alby.
*Brewster, John, Esq.
Brewster, Samuel, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Brown, John, of Sparkes.
**Burnam, Edmund, Ald.* (*n.*)
Buxton, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Calthorp, James, Esq.
Calthorp, Philip, Esq.
Chamberlain, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
Church, Bernard, Sheriff. (*n. f.*)
Clarke, of Gaywood.
Collier, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Collyns, of Blackborne Abbey.
Coney, William.
Cooke, John, Esq.
*Cooke, William, Esq.
Corbet, Miles, Esq.
Dagly, Robert, of Alsham.
Day, Sucklin.
Doylie, Sir William, Kt. (*f.*)
Earl, Erasmus, Esq. (*f.*)
Felsham, Robert, of Sculthrop.

* Spelt also *Berne*, *Bernay*, and *Barney*.

* Spelt also *Crook* and *Coke*.

Fountain, Briggs, Esq.
Fryer,* Tobias, Esq.
Gasley, William, of Holcan.
Gawdy, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq. (*f.*)
*Gawdy, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Gawsell,** Gregory, Esq.
Gibbon,*** John, Esq.
Gibbon,*** Sir Thomas, Kt.
Gooch, Robert, of Elham.
Gower, Robert, of Yarmouth, Gent. (*f.*)
**Greenwood, John, Sheriff.* (*n.*)
Grey, James de, Esq. (*f.*)
Grey, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Harman, Richard, Esq.
Harvye, Richard.
Heveningham, William, Esq.
Heyward, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
*Hobart, Sir John, Bart.
*Hobart, Sir Miles, Kt.
Holland, Sir John, Bart.
Houghton, John, Esq.
Houghton, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
*Huggen,† Sir Thomas, Kt.
Hunt, George, Esq. (*f.*)
Jaye, John, of Ersham.
*Jermy, Francis, Esq.
Jermy, Robert, Esq.
Johnson, Thomas, Gent.
Ket, Robert, of Wicklewood.
Kettle, Henry, of Thetford. (*f.*)
King, Henry, Gent.
Lincoln, Thomas, of Thetford, Esq. Ald.
*Lindsey, Matthew, Ald (*n.*)
Long, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
May, John, of Lynn, Ald. (*f.*)
Mayor of Lynn for the time being.
Mayor of Norwich for the time being. (*n.*)
Money, Samuel, of Binnam.
Mountford, Sir Edmund, Kt.
Owner, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
*Palgrave, Sir John, Bart.
Parkes,* Samuel, Gent.
*Parmenter, Adrian, Esq. (*n.*)
Paston, Sir William, Bart. (*f.*)
*Peckoner,** Matthew, Ald. (*n.*)
Pell, Sir Valentine, Kt. Vicecomes. (*f.*)
Percivall, John, Esq. of Lynn.
Pots, Sir John, Bart.
Raymes,*** John, Esq. of Oxtron.
Rich, Robert, Esq.
Rower, Robert, Gent.
*Russell, Thomas, Esq.
Salter, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Scamler, Adam, Esq. (*f.*)
Scamler, James, Esq.
Scottow, Timothy, Gent. (*n. f.*)
*Sedley,† Martin, Esq.
Sheppard, Robert, Esq.
Sheriffs of Norwich.
Sherwood, Livewell, Ald. (*n.*)
Shouldham, Francis of Fulmerston.
Skippon, Philip, Esq. (*f.*)
*Smith, Samuel, Esq.

* Spelt also *Frere, Friar,* and *Fryar.*
** „ „ *Caussell, Gousall,* and *Gausey.*
*** „ „ *Guibon.*
† „ „ *Heyan, Hoogan, Heggin.*

* Spelt also *Parks, Parker, Packle*
** „ „ *Peckover* and *Peckford.*
*** „ „ *Reygnes, Keyves, Reimes,* and *Hegis.*
† „ „ *Sidley* and *Redley.*

*Sotherton, Thomas, Esq.
*Spelman, John, Esq.
Springall, Thomas, of St. Mary's.
Steward, —, Esq. (*n. f.*)
Swalter, John, of Southcreak.
*Symonds, William, of Norwich, Ald. (*n.*)
Taylor, Henry, Esq. (*f.*)
*Thacker, John, Ald. (*n.*)
Thorisby, Edmund, Esq. (*f.*)
Tofts, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Tofts, Thomas, Ald. (*n. f.*)
Toll, Thomas, Esq.
*Tooley, John, Esq. (*n.*)
Townsend, Roger, Esq. (*f.*)
Utber, Thomas.
Vincent, John, of Crinisham.
Walpool, John, Esq.
Walter, of Deram.
Ward, Hamon, Esq. (*f.*)
Warner, Richard, of Little Brand.
Wasted, Thomas, Gent. (*n. f.*)
*Watts, Henry, Ald. (*n.*)
Web, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Weld, Thomas, Esq.
Wilton, Robert, Esq.
Windham, Sir George, Kt. (*f.*)
*Windham, Thomas, Esq.
With, of Brodish.
*Wood, Robert, Esq.
Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Wright*, *Thomas, Esq.*

* Spelt also *Wilson*.
** „ „ *Weight*.

SUFFOLK.

Suffolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 29th September), p. 19, p. 321; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 172, p. 193, p. 10 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 605.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of the 10th August; (*i.*) means, for Ipswich; (*e.*) Bury St. Edmunds; (*a.*) Aldborough.

Aldermen of Bury St. Edmunds (*e.*)
Aldus, John, Gent. (*i.*)
*Appleton, Isaac, Esq.
Bacon, Sir Butts, Bart.
*Bacon, Sir Edmund, Bart.
*Bacon, Francis, Esq.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, of Freeston, Esq.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, of Ipswich, Esq.
Bacon, Nicholas, Esq.
Bacon, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Bailiffs of Aldborough. (*a.*)
Bailiffs of Ipswich. (*i.*)
*Baker, Thomas, Esq.
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Kt.
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Barrow, Maurice, Esq.
Basse,* John, Esq.

* Spelt also *Bates*, *Base*, and *Bace*.

Bence, Alexander, Esq. (*f.*)
Bence, Squire, Esq.
Blosse, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
*Bloyse, William, Esq.
Bokenham, Wiseman, Esq.
Brandling, John. (*i.*)
Brewster, Francis, Esq.
Brewster, Robert, Esq.
Bright, —, Gent. (*e.*)
Brook, Sir Robert, Kt.
Brooke, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Cage,** William, Esq.
Chaplin, Thomas, Gent. (*e.*)
Chapman, Thomas, Esq. (*e.*)
Cheney, Henry. (*a. f.*)
Clinch, John, sen. Esq.
Clinch, John, of Culpho, Esq.
*Cole, Thomas, Esq.
Cotton, John, Esq. (*f.*)
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Bart. (*f.*)
Duke, Sir Edward, Kt.
Duncombe,*** Robert, Gent. (*i.*)
Fisher, Peter. (*i.*)
Gale, Jacob, Gent. (*i.*)
Gibbs, Thomas, Ald. (*e.*)
Gurdon, Brampton, Esq.
Gurdon, Brampton, jun. Esq.
Gurdon, John, Esq.
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq.
Heveningham, William, Esq.
*Hobart, James, Esq.
Hodges, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Johnson,* Thomas, Gent. (*a.*)
*Lawrence, William, Esq.
*Lucas, Gibson, Esq.
Moody, Samuel. (*e.*)
North, Henry, sen. Esq.
North, Henry, jun. Esq.
North, Sir Roger, Kt.
Parker, Sir Philip, Kt.
Parker, Sir William, Kt.
Pemberton, Joseph, Gent. (*i.*)
Pepys, Richard, Esq.
Playters, Sir William, Bart.
Puplet,** Richard, Gent. (*i.*)
Read, Edward, Esq.
Reynolds, Robert, Esq.
River,*** William, of Bilson, Esq.
Rous, Sir John, Kt.
Sicklemer, John, Gent. (*i.*)
*Soame, Sir William, Kt.
*Spring, Sir William, Bart.
*Terrell,† Thomas, Esq.
*Vaughan, Theophilus, of Beccles, Esq.
Wentworth, Sir John, Kt.

* Spelt also *Brechoster*.
** " " *Gage*.
*** " " *Duncam* and *Duncon*.

* Spelt also *Jackson*.
** " " *Puplar, Purplet, Pulpit*.
*** " " *Rivet* and *Ryvet*.
† " " *Tirrill*.

APPENDIX C.

No. 1.

Letter to Downhall.

[Vol. i. p. 53.]

The stolen Letter of the Ashmole Museum has been found printed, and even reprinted. It is of the last degree of insignificance: a mere Note of Invitation to Downhall to stand "Godfather unto my Child." Man-child now ten days old,* who, as we may see, is christened "on Thursday next" by the name of Richard, — and had strange ups and downs as a Man when it came to that!

To my approved good Friend Mr. Henry Downhall, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge: These.

Loving Sir, Huntingdon, 14th October 1626.

Make me so much your servant as to be** Godfather unto my Child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation; but my occasions would not permit me: and therefore hold me in that excused. The Day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by

Your friend and servant,

Oliver Cromwell. §

Of this Downhall, sometimes written Down*hault*, and even Down*ett* and Down*tell;* who grounds his claim, such as it is, to human remembrance on the above small Note from Oliver, — a

* Vol. i. p. 68. ** "by being" *in orig.*

§ Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (London, 1771), i. 261 *n.*

helpful hand has, with unsubduable research, discovered various particulars, which might amount almost to an outline of a history of Downhall, were such needed. He was of Northamptonshire, come of gentlefolks in that County. Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th April 1614; — had known Oliver, and apparently been helpful and instructive to him, two years after that. More interesting still, he this same Downhall was Vicar of St. Ives when Oliver came thither in 1635; still Vicar when Oliver left it, though with far other tendencies than Oliver's now; and had, alas, to be "ejected with his Curate, in 1642," as an Anti-Puritan Malignant:* — Oliver's course and his having altogether parted now! Nay farther, the same Downhall, surviving the Restoration, became "Archdeacon of Huntingdon" in 1667: fifty-one years ago he had lodged there as Oliver Cromwell's Guest and Gossip; and now he comes as Archdeacon, — with a very strange set of *Annals* written in his old head, poor Downhall! He died "at Cottingham in Northamptonshire, his native region, in the winter-time of 1669;" — and so, with his Ashmole Letter, ends.**

No. 2.

At Ely.

[Vol. i. p. 93.]

There is at Ely a Charitable Foundation now above four centuries old; which in Oliver's time was named the *Ely Feoffees' Fund*, and is now known as *Parsons' Charity;* the old Records of which, though somewhat mutilated during those years, offer one or two faint but indubitable vestiges of Oliver, not to be neglected on the present occasion.

This *Charity* of ancient worthy Thomas *Parsons*, it appears, had, shortly before Oliver's arrival in Ely, been somewhat remodelled by a new Royal Charter: To be henceforth more specially devoted to the Poor of Ely; to be governed by Twelve Feoffees; namely, by Three Dignitaries of the Cathedral, and

* Vol. i. p. 86.

** Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 187; and MS. communicated by Mr. Cooper, resting on the following formidable mass of documentary Authorities:

Cole MSS. (which is a Transcript of Baker's *History of St. John's College*), 166. 358. Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix. 261. Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 160. Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, pp. 207. 251. Walker's *Sufferings* ii. 129, 130. Wood's *Athenæ* (2d edition, passage wanting in both the 1st and 3d), ii. 1179.

by Nine Townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill up their own vacancies,* — of which latter class, Oliver Cromwell Esquire, most likely elected in his Uncle's stead, was straightway made one. The old Books, as we say, are specially defective in those years; "have lost 40 or 50 leaves at the end of Book I., and 12 leaves at the beginning of Book II.," — leaves cut out for the sake of Oliver's autograph, or as probably for other reasons. Detached Papers, however, still indicate that Oliver was one of the Feoffees, and a moderately diligent one, almost from his first residence there. Here, under date some six or seven months after his arrival, is a small Entry in certain loose Papers, labelled "*The Accompts of Mr. John Hand and Mr. Wm. Crauford, Collectors of the Reveneiwes belonging to the Towne of Ely*" (that is, to Parsons' Charity in Ely); and under this special head, "*The Disbursements of Mr. John Hand, from the — of August* 1636 *unto the — of* — 1641:

"Given to divers Poore People at ye Work-house, in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon of Ely,** Mr. Oliver Cromwell, Mr. John Goodricke and others, 10th February 1636, as appeareth . . . . . £16 14 0."

And under this other head, "*The Disbursements of Mr. Crauford*," which unluckily are not dated, and run vaguely from 1636 to 1641:

"Item to Jones, by Mr. Cromwell's consent . £1 0 0."

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely Feoffeeship and passivity;*** — except in the following instance, where there is still extant a small Letter of his. "Mr. Hand," as we have seen, is one of the "Collectors", himself likewise a Feoffee or Governor, the Governors (it would appear) taking that office in turn.

* Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities (London, 1837): distinct account of it there, § *Cambridgeshire*, pp. 218-20.

** One "Wigmore;" the Dean was "William Fuller;" the Bishop "Matthew Wren," very famous for his Popish Candles and other fripperies, who lay long in the Tower afterwards. These were the three Clerical Feoffees in Oliver's time.

*** Excerpts of Documents obligingly communicated by the Dean of *Ely, — now penes* Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.

'*To Mr. Hand, at Ely: These.*'

MR. HAND, 'Ely,' 13th September 1638.

I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your Money. I desire you to deliver Forty Shillings of the Town Money to this Bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this Note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest, Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Poor "Benson" is an old invalid. Among Mr. Hand's Disbursements for the year 1636 is this,

"For phisicke and surgery for old Benson £2 7 4."

And among Crauford's, of we know not what year,

"To Benson at divers times . . . . . £0 15 0."

Let him have forty shillings more, poor old man; and if the Gentlemen won't allow it, Oliver Cromwell will pay it out of his own purse.

No. 3.

CAMBRIDGE: CORPORATION (1641); WHELOCKE (1643).

[Vol. i. pp. 122; — 128, 139.]

Two vestiges of Oliver at Cambridge, in his parliamentary and in his military capacity, there still are.

1. The first, which relates to a once very public Affair, is his Letter (his and Lowry's) to the Cambridge Authorities, in May 1641; Letter accompanying the celebrated "Protestation and Preamble" just sent forth by the House of Commons, with earnest invitation to all constituencies to adopt the same.

'"*A Preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of Commons, the 3d of May* 1641, *and assented unto by the Lords of the Upper House, the 4th of May.*

"We, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons "House, in Parliament, finding, to the grief of our hearts, That "the designs of the Priests and Jesuits, and other Adherents to

§ Memoirs of the Protector, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant &c. (London, 1822), i. 351; where also (p. 350) is found, in a very indistinct state, the above-given Entry from *Hand's Accompts*, misdated '1641', instead of 10th February 1636-7. The *Letter* to Hand "has not been among the Feoffees' Papers for several years;" and is now (1846) none knows where.

"the See of Rome, have been of late more boldly and frequently "put in practice than formerly, to the undermining, and danger "of ruin, of the True Reformed Religion in his Majesty's Domi- "nions established: And finding also that there hath been, and "having cause to suspect there still are even during the sitting "in Parliament, endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Laws "of England and Ireland, and to introduce the exercise of an "Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by most pernicious and "wicked counsels, plots and conspiracies: And that the long "intermission, and unhappier breach, of Parliaments hath occa- "sioned many illegal Taxations, whereupon the Subjects have "been prosecuted and grieved: And that divers Innovations "and Superstitions have been brought into the Church; multi- "tudes driven out of his Majesty's dominions; jealousies raised "and fomented between the King and People; a Popish Army "levied in Ireland,* and Two Armies brought into the bowels of "this Kingdom, to the hazard of his Majesty's royal Person, the "consumption of the revenue of the Crown, and the treasure of "this Realm: And lastly, finding great causes of jealousy that "endeavours** have been and are used to bring the English "Army into misunderstanding of this Parliament, thereby to "incline that Army by force to bring to pass those wicked "counsels, —

"Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declara- "tion of our united affections and resolutions; and to make this ensuing

"PROTESTATION.

"I, A. B., do in the Presence of Almighty God promise, vow "and protest, To maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, "with my life, power and estate, the True Reformed Protestant "Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, "against all Popery and Popish Innovations, and according to "the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty's royal Person, Honour "and Estate: as also the Power and Privilege of Parliament, the "Lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; and every Person "that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the "lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as "lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and means en-

* By Strafford lately, against the Scots and their enterprises.

** This is the important point, nearly shaded out of sight: "finding the great causes of jealousy, endeavours have" &c. is the tremulous, indistinct and even ungrammatical phrase in the Original.

"deavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall, by "force, practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do "anything to the contrary in this present Protestation con- "tained.

"And further I shall, in all just and honourable ways, en- "deavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the Three "Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland: and neither for "hope, fear nor other respect, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow "and Protestation."*

This is on Monday, 3d May 1641, while the Apprentices are bellowing in Palaceyard: Cromwell is one of those that take the Protestation this same Monday, present in the House while the redacting of it goes on. Long lists of Members take it, — not John Lowry, who I conclude must have been absent. On Wednesday, 5th May, there is this Order:

"*Ordered*, That the Protestation made by the Members of "this House, with the Preamble, shall be together printed;" Clerk to attest the copies; all Members to send them down to the respective Sheriffs, Justices, to the respective Cities, Boroughs, and "intimate with what willingness the Members "made this Protestation; and that as they justify the taking of "it in themselves, so they cannot but approve it in them that "shall likewise take it."

Strict *Order*, at the same time, That all Members "now in Town and not sick shall appear here Tomorrow at Eight of Clock," and take this Protestation: non-appearance to be "accounted a contempt of this House," and expose one to be expelled, or worse; — in spite of which John Lowry still does not sign, not till Friday morning, after even "Philip Warwick" and "Endymion Porter" have signed; whence I infer he was out of Town or unwell.** — This Letter, which seems to be of Cromwell's writing, still stands on the Corporation Books of Cambridge; read in Common Council there on the 11th of May; at which time, said Letter being read, the Town Authorities did one and all zealously accept the same, and signed the Protestation on the spot. The Letter is not dated; but as Lowry signed on Friday, and the Corporation meeting is on Tuesday the 11th, we may safely guess the Letter to have arrived on Monday, and to have been written on Saturday.

* Commons Journals, ii. 132 (3d May 1641).
** Ibid. ii. 133, 5, 6, 7. Rushworth, iv. 341 *et seqq.*

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that Body: Present these.

GENTLEMEN, 'London, 8th May 1641.

We heartily salute you; and herewith, according to the directions of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled, send unto you a Protestation; — the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The Preamble therewith printed doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them, in their own persons, to begin "making it."

We shall only let you know that, with alacrity and willingness, the Members of that Body entered thereinto. It was in them a right honourable and necessary act; not unworthy your imitation. You shall hereby as the Body Represented avow the practice of the Representative. The conformity is in itself praiseworthy; and will be by them approved. The result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole Kingdom. Combination carries strength with it. It's dreadful to adversaries; especially when it's in order to the duty we owe to God, to the loyalty we owe to our King and Sovereign, and to the affection due to our Country and Liberties, — the main ends of this Protestation now herewith sent you.

We say no more: but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you; desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours, — which indeed are not ours but the Lord's and yours. Whom we desire to serve in integrity: and bidding you heartily Farewell, rest,

Your loving friends to be commanded,

OLIVER CROMWELL
JOHN LOWRY. §

2. The second is a small antiquarian relic (date, Spring 1643); dim and of little worth in its detached form, but capable of lighting itself up, and the reader's fancy along with it, when set in the right combination.

"Mr. Abraham Whelocke," whose name and works are still well enough known, was, later in that century, "the celebrated

§ Cambridge Corporation Day-Book: in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 311. Printed also, with errors, in O. Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector*, i. 406.

Professor of Arabic at Oxford;" and is now, we perceive, in this Spring 1643, a Student at Cambridge; of meditative peripatetic habits; often walking into the country with a little Arabic Volume in his pocket; — apt to be fluttered at the Town Gates by these new military arrangements. In this difficulty he calls on Colonel Cromwell; and — But his little Volume itself is still extant, and tells its own story and his. A thin duodecimo, in white hogskin binding now grown very brown; size handy for the smallest coat-pocket: — and on the fly-leaf, in Oliver's hand, stands written (signed successively by three other Committeemen whom Whelocke would soon search out for the feat):

4th April 1643.

Suffer the Bearer hereof, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, to pass your guards so often as he shall have occasion, into and out of Cambridge, towards Little Shelford or any other place; and this shall be your warrant.

THO. COOKE. OLIVER CROMWELL. §
EDW. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON.

No. 4.

EASTERN ASSOCIATION: THREATENED RISING OF PAPISTS IN NORFOLK.

[Vol. i. p. 127.]

Two Committee-Letters, both of Oliver's writing; illustrations of his diligent procedure in the birth-time of the Eastern Association.

To our noble Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, 'Sir' John Spelman, Knights and Baronets, and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of Norfolk: Present these.

GENTLEMEN, 'Cambridge, 26th January 1642.'

The Parliament and the Lord General have taken into their care the peace and protection of these Eastern parts of

† Whelocke's Arabic Volume (a version into Arabic of one of Bellarmin's Books, by some Armenian Patriarch, for benefit of the Heathen, Rome, 1627, — with slight marks of Whelocke on the other fly-leaves): Volume now in the possession of Dr. Lee, Hartwell, Buckinghamshire, who has kindly given me sight of it. — Next year, under this Pass of Oliver's, lower half of the same fly-leaf, there is a Renewal of it, or Copy in almost precisely the same terms, written and signed by the Earl of Manchester (in ink now grown very pale, while Oliver's has changed to strong red-brown), of date '27th February 1643'-4, when his Lordship again for a time (see antea, vol. i. p. 181) had become chief Authority in Cambridge. (*Note of* 1857.)

the Kingdom; and to that end have sent down hither some part of their Forces, — as likewise a * Commission, with certain Instructions to us and others directed; all which do highly concern the peace and safety of your County. Therefore we intreat that some of you would give us a meeting at Mildenhall ** in Suffolk, on Tuesday the 31st of this instant January. And in the mean time that you would make all possible speed to have in a readiness, against any *** notice shall be given, a considerable force of Horse and Foot to join with us, to keep any Enemy's force from breaking-in upon your yet peaceable Country. For we have certain intelligence that some of Prince Rupert's forces are come as far as Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and that the Papists in Norfolk are solicited to rise presently upon you.

Thus presenting all our neighbourly and loving respects, we rest,

Your respective friends to serve you,

	Miles Sandys.
Terrell Jocelyn.	Franc. Russell.
Willm. Marche.	Oliver Cromwell.
Edw. Clenche.	Thomas Symons.
James Thompson.	Robert Clerke. §

To our worthy Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, Sir John Spelman, Knights and Baronets: Present these.

Gentlemen, Cambridge, 27th January 1642.

The grounds of your Jealousies are real. They concur with our intelligences from Windsor; the sum whereof we give unto you:

From a prisoner taken by Sir Samuel Luke (one Mr. Gandy, a Captain of Dragooners) this confession was drawn, That the Papists by direction from Oxford should rise in Norfolk. Whereupon it was desired from thence That Sir Henry Benningfield and Mr. Gandy, their persons should be seized,

* "the" erased. ** "Millnall" he writes.
*** "any" inserted with a *caret*: both corrections apparently in Cromwell's hand.
§ Original in Tanner mss. lxiv. 116.

and that we* should do our** endeavour to make stay of the Person and Letter which contained this encouragement to them, — he being described by his horse and clothes. But we believe 'he' was past us before we had notice, for our Scouts could not light on him.

As for the other consideration of his Majesty's forces being invited into these parts, we have confirmation thereof from all hands; — and there is this reason to doubt it will be so, Because his Majesty is weary of Oxford; there being little in those parts left to sustain his Army, — and surely the fulness of these parts and fitness of them for Horse are too-too good arguments to invite him*** hither. Thus we agree in the grounds of our doubt and fear.

The next thought is of Remedy. And in this we account it our happiness to consult with you of common safety, to be had either by the Association you speak of, or by† any other consideration by communication of assistance, according to necessity. Wherein I hope you shall find all readiness and cheerfulness in us, to assist you to break any strength that shall†† be gathered; or to prevent it, if desired, — having timely notice given from you thereof. The way will be best settled, if you give us a meeting, according to our desire by a Letter particularly prepared††† before we received yours, and now sent unto you for that purpose together with these.

This is all we can say for the present; but that we are,

Your friends and servants,

MILES SANDYS.

THOM. MARTYN. FRANC. RUSSELL. TERRELL JOCELYN.
OLIVER CROMWELL. THOS. SYMONS.
WILLM. MARCHE. ROBERT CLERKE.
EDW. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON.

'P.S.' We sent to Sir William Spring to offer him our as-

* "I" erased. ** "my" erased.
*** "them" erased. All the corrections in Cromwell's hand.
† Comes to the end of the sheet, and turns to the margin.
†† "may" erased, and "shall" substituted.
††† "and di" (meaning "directed") erased.

sistance for the apprehension of Sir H. Benningfield, &c.* We have not yet received any answer. — We knew not how to address ourselves to you. It's our desire to assist you in that or any other public service. §

Nr. 5.

GAINSBOROUGH FIGHT.

[Vol. i. p. 155.]

HERE are other details concerning Gainsborough Fight; Two Letters upon it that have successively turned up.

1. The first is a Letter two days earlier in date; evidently not written by Cromwell, though signed by him and two chief Lincolnshire Committee-men, as he passes through their City on his way to Huntingdon. Sir Edward Ayscough, or "Ayscoghe" as he here signs himself, — probably a kinsman of Sir George the Sailor's, possibly the father of the "Captain Ayscoghe" mentioned here, — he and John Broxholme, Esq., both of the Lincolnshire Committee,** are clearly the writers of the present Letter.

"*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: These.*

"Lincoln, 29th July 1643 (Six o'clock at night).

"NOBLE SIR, — We, having solicited a conjunction of Forces "towards the raising of the Siege of Gainsborough, did appoint "a general rendezvous at North Scarle to be upon Thursday the "27th of July. To the which place, Sir John Meldrum with "about Three-hundred Horse and Dragoons, and Colonel Crom- "well with about Six or Seven Troops of Horse and about One- "hundred Dragoons, came. With these they marched towards "Gainsborough; and meeting with a good party of the Enemy "about a mile from the Town, beat them back, — but not with "any commendations to our Dragoons. We advanced still to- "wards the Enemy, all along under the Cony-Warren, which is "upon a high Hill above Gainsborough. The Lincoln Troops "had the van, two Northampton, and three small Troops of Not- "tingham the battle, and Colonel Cromwell the rear; the "Enemy in the mean time with his body keeping the top of the "Hill.

* "and" erased; "&c." substituted.

§ Origina, in Cromwell's own hand throughout, in Tanner mss. lxiv. 129.

** Husband, ii. 171.

"Some of the Lincoln Troops began to advance up the Hill; "which were opposed by a force of the Enemy: but our men re- "pelled them, until all our whole body was got up the Hill. The "Enemy kept his ground; which he chose for his best advan- "tage, with a Body of Horse of about Three Regiments of Horse, "and a reserve behind them consisting of General Cavendish his "Regiment, which was a very full regiment. We presently put "our Horse in order; which we could hardly do by reason of the "cony-holes and the difficult ascent up the Hill; the Enemy "being within musket-shot of us, and advancing towards us be- "fore we could get ourselves into any good order. But with "those Troops we could get up, we charged the greater Body of "the Enemy; came-up to the sword's point; and disputed it so "a little with them, that our men pressing heavily upon them, "they could not bear it, but all their Body ran away, some on "the one side of their Reserve, others on the other. Divers of "our Troops pursuing had the chase about six miles.

"General Cavendish with his Regiment standing firm all the "while, and facing some of our Troops that did not follow the "chase, — Colonel Cromwell, with his Major Whalley and one "or two Troops more, were following the chase, and were in the "rear of that Regiment. When they saw the body stand un- "broken, 'they' endeavoured, with much ado, to get into a body "those three or four Troops which were divided. Which when "they had done, — perceiving the Enemy to charge two or three "of the Lincoln scattered Troops, and to make them retire by "reason of their being many more than they in number; and the "rest being elsewhere engaged and following the chase, — "Colonel Cromwell with his three Troops followed them in the "rear; brake this Regiment; and forced their General, with "divers of their men, into a quagmire in the bottom of the Hill. "Where one of Colonel Cromwell his men cut General Caven- "dish on the head; by reason whereof he fell off his horse; and "the Colonel's Captain-Lieutenant thrust him into the side, "whereof within two hours he died; — the rest chasing his Regi- "ment quite out of the field, having execution of them, so that "the field was left wholly unto us, not a man appearing. Upon "this, divers of our men went into the Town; carrying-in to my "Lord Willoughby some of the Ammunition we brought for "him; — believing that our work was at an end; saving to take

* Original has "his," and for "General Cavendish" in the foregoing line, "him."

"care how to bring further provisions into the Town, to enable "it to stand a siege in case my Lord Newcastle should draw-up "with his Army to attempt it.

"Whilst we were considering of these things, word was "brought us That there was a small remainder of the Enemy's "force not yet meddled with, about a mile beyond Gainsborough "with some Foot, and two pieces of Ordnance. We having no "Foot, desired to have some out of the Town; which my Lord "Willoughby granted, and sent us about Six-hundred Foot: "with these we advanced towards the Enemy. When we came "thither to the top of the hill, we beat divers Troops of the "Enemy's Horse back: but at the bottom we saw a Regiment "of Foot; after that another (my Lord Newcastle's own Regi- "ment, consisting of nineteen colours) appearing also, and many "Horse; — which indeed was his Army. Seeing these there so "unexpectedly, we advised what to do.

"Colonel Cromwell was sent to command the Foot to retire, "and to draw-off the Horse. By the time he came to them, the "Enemy was marching up the hill. The Foot did retire dis- "orderly into the Town, which was not much above a quarter of "a mile from them; upon whom the Enemy's Horse did some "small execution. The Horse also did retire in some disorder, "about half a mile, — until they came to the end of a field where "a passage was; where, by the endeavour of Colonel Cromwell, "of Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, a body was drawn "up. With these we faced the Enemy; stayed their pursuit; "and opposed them with about four Troops of Colonel Crom- "well's and four Lincoln Troops; the Enemy's body in the mean "time increasing very much from the Army. But such was the "goodness of God, giving courage and valour to our men and "officers, that whilst Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, "sometimes the one with four Troops faced the Enemy, some "times the other, to the exceeding glory of God be it spoken, "and the great honour of those two Gentlemen, they with this "handful forced the Enemy so, and dared them to their teeth in "at the least eight or nine several removes, — the Enemy fol- "lowing at their heels; and they, though their horses were ex- "ceedingly tired, retreating in order, near carbine-shot of the "Enemy, who thus followed them, firing upon them; Colonel "Cromwell gathering-up the main body and facing them behind "those two lesser bodies, — that, in despite of the Enemy, we "brought-off our Horse in this order, without the loss of two men.

"Thus have you a true Relation of this notable service, "wherein God is to have all the glory. And care must be taken "speedily to relieve this noble Lord from his and the State's "Enemies, by a speedy force sent unto us, — and that without "any delay; or else he will be lost, and that important Town, "and all those parts; and way made for this Army instantly to "advance into the South. Thus resting upon your care in "speeding present Succours hither, we humbly take our leaves "and remain,

"Your humble servants,
"EDW. AYSCOGHE.
"JO. BROXOLME.
"OLIVER CROMWELL."*

2. The Second Letter, the Original of which still exists, is of much greater interest; being from Cromwell's own hand, and evidently thrown-off in a quite familiar and even hasty fashion. Written, as would appear, on the march from Lincoln to Huntingdon; no mention precisely where; but probably at the Army's quarters on the evening of their first day's march homewards. In the Original the *surname* of the "Sir John" to whom the Letter addresses itself has been, probably by some royalist descendant (of mixed emotions), so industriously crossed out with many strokes of the pen, that not only is it entirely illegible, but the polite possessor of the Autograph cannot undertake to guess for me how many letters may have been in the word. On other grounds I pretty confidently undertake, nevertheless, to read *Wray:* Sir John Wray of Glentworth, member for Lincolnshire, and on the Committee of that County; at present, I suppose, attending his duty in London. Glentworth House is almost within sight and sound of these transactions; the well-affected Knight of the Shire, for many reasons, may fitly hear a word of them, while we rest from our march. Sir John's Mother, I find by the Dryasdust records** was a Montague of Boughton; so that "your noble Kinsman" near the end of this Letter will mean my Lord of Manchester, "Sergeant-Major of the Association," a man well qualified to give information.

* Tanner MSS. lxii. 194; and, with little or no variation, Baker MSS. xxviii. 434.
** Burke's Extinct Baronetage, § *Wray*.

To my noble Friend Sir John 'Wraye,' Knight and Baronet: Present these.

SIR, 'Eastern Association,' 30th July 1643.

The particular respects I have received at your hands do much oblige me, but the great affection you bear to the Public much more: for that cause I am bold to acquaint you with some late Passages wherein it hath pleased God to favour us; — which, I am assured, will be welcome to you.

After Burleigh House was taken, we went towards Gainsborough to a general rendezvous, where met us Lincolnshire Troops; so that we were Nineteen or Twenty Troops, when we were together, of Horse and Foot, and about Three or Four Troops of Dragooners. We marched with this force to Gainsborough. Upon Friday morning, being the 28th of July, we met with a forlorn-hope of the Enemy, and with our men brake it in. We marched on to* the Town's end. The Enemy being upon the top of a very steep Hill over our heads, some of our men attempted to march up that Hill; the Enemy opposed; our men drove them up, and forced their passage. By the time** we came up, we saw the Enemy well set in two bodies: the foremost a large fair body, the other a reserve consisting of six or seven brave Troops. Before we could get our force into order, the great body of the Enemy advanced; they were within musket-shot of us when we came to the pitch of the Hill: we advanced likewise towards them; and both charged, each upon the other: Thus advancing, we came to pistol and sword's point, both in that close order that it was disputed very strongly who should break the other. But our men pressing a little heavily upon them, they began to give back; which our men perceiving, instantly forced them, — brake that whole body; some of them flying on this side, some on the other side, of the reserve. Our men, pursuing them in great disorder, had the execution about four, or some say six miles. With much ado this done, and all their force being gone, not one man standing, but all beaten out of the field, — we drew up our body together, and kept the field, — the half of our men being well worn in the chase of the Enemy.

* Means "towards".

** "that time," *in orig.*

Upon this we endeavoured the Business we came for; which wat the relief of the Town with Ammunition. We sent-in some Powder, which was the great want of that Town. Which done, word was brought us that the Enemy had about Six Troops of Horse, and Three-hundred Foot, a little on the other side of the Town. Upon this we drew some musketeers out of the Town, and with our body of horse marched towards them. We saw two Troops towards the Mill; which my men drove down into a little village at the bottom of the Hill: when *we* [*we* emphatic] came with our horse to the top of that Hill, we saw in the bottom a whole regiment of Foot, after that another and another, — and, as some counted, about Fifty Colours of Foot. Which indeed was my Lord Newcastle's Army; — with which he now besieges Gainsborough.

My Lord Willoughby commanded me to bring off the Foot and Horse: which I endeavoured; but the Foot (the Enemy pressing on with the Army) retreated in some disorder into the Town, being of that Garrison. Our Horse also, being wearied, and unexpectedly pressed by this new force, so great, — gave off, not being able to brave the charge. But, with some difficulty, we got our Horse into a body, and with them faced the Enemy; and retreated in such order that though the Enemy followed hard, they were not able to disorder us, but we got them off safe, to Lincoln, from this fresh force, and lost not one man. The honour of this retreat, equal to any of late times, is due to Major Whalley and Captain Ayscough, next under God.

This Relation I offer you for the honour of God (to whom be all the praise); as also to let you know you have some servants faithful to you, to incite to action. I beseech you let this good success quicken your continuing to this Engagement! It's great evidence of God's favour. Let not your business be starved. I know, if all be of your mind, we shall have an honourable return. It's your own business: — a reasonable strength now raised speedily, may do that which much more will not do after some time. Undoubtedly, if they succeed here, you will see them in the bowels of your Association.

'As' for the time, you will hear it from your noble Kinsman and Colonel Palgrave: if we be not able in ten days to relieve Gainsborough, a noble Lord will be lost, many good Foot, and a considerable Pass over Trent in these parts. — The Lord prosper your endeavours and ours. I beseech you present my humble service to the high honourable Lady. Sir, I am Your faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. — I stayed, 'from the chase after our first encounter,' two of my own Troops, and my Major stayed his; in all three. There were in front of the Enemy's reserve, three or four of the Lincoln Troops yet unbroken: the Enemy charged those Troops; utterly broke and chased them; so that none of the Troops on our part stood, but my three. Whilst the Enemy was following our flying Troops, I charged him on the rear with my three Troops; drove him down the Hill, brake him all to pieces; forced Lieutenant-General Cavendish into a Bog, who fought in this reserve: one Officer cut him on the head; and, as he lay, my Captain-Lieutenant Berry thrust him into the short ribs, of which he died, about two hours after, in Gainsborough. §

By this Postscript is at last settled the question, Who killed Charles Cavendish? It was "my Captain-Lieutenant Berry;" he and no other, if any one still wish to know. Richard Baxter's friend once; and otherwise a known man.

No. 6.

LETTER TO FAIRFAX, ON THE ACTION AT ISLIP-BRIDGE AND BLETCHINGTON.

[Vol. i. p. 203.]

WRITTEN the night before that in the Text, on the same subject.

'For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army: These.'

RIGHT HONOURABLE, 'Bletchington,' 24th April 1645.

I met at my rendezvous at Watlington, on Wednesday

§ Original in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., Great Yarmouth; printed in *Papers of Norfolk Archæological Society* (Norwich, Jan. 1848), *pp. 45-50.*

last; where I stayed somewhat long for the coming-up of the Body of Horse, which your Honour was pleased to give me the command of. After the coming whereof, I marched with all expedition to Wheatley-Bridge; having sent before to Major-General Browne, for what intelligence he could afford me of the state of affairs in Oxford (I being not so well acquainted in those parts), — of the condition, and number, of the Enemy in Oxford. Who himself informed me by letters, That Prince Maurice his forces were not in Oxford, as I supposed; and that, — as he was informed by four very honest and faithful Gentlemen that came out of Oxford to him a little before the receipt of my letter, — there were Twelve pieces of Ordnance with their carriages and wagons, ready for their march; and in another place Five more pieces with their carriages, ready to advance with their Convoy.

After I received this satisfaction from Major-General Browne, I advanced this morning, — being Thursday, the twenty-fourth of April, — near to Oxford. There I lay before the Enemy; who perceiving it at Oxford, and being in readiness to advance, sent out a party of Horse against me: part of the Queen's Regiment, part of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, and part of the Lord Wilmot's Regiment; — who made an infall upon me.

Whereupon, I drew forth your Honour's Regiment, — lately mine own, — against the Enemy (who had drawn themselves into several Squadrons, to be ready for action); — and commanded your Honour's own Troop therein, to charge a Squadron of the Enemy. Who performed it so gallantly that, after a short firing, they entered the whole Squadron, and put them to a confusion. And the rest of my Horse presently entering after them, they made a total rout of the Enemy; and had the chase of them three or four miles; — and killed Two-hundred; took as many prisoners, and about Four-hundred horses. 'Also' the Queen's colours, richly embroidered, with the Crown in the midst, and eighteen flower-de-luces wrought all about in gold, with a golden cross on the top. — Many escaped to Oxford, and divers were drowned.

Part of them likewise betook themselves to a strong House in Bletchington; where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison, with near Two-hundred horse and foot therein. Which, after surrounding it, I summoned: — but they seemed very dilatory in their answer. At last, they sent out Articles to me of Surrender, — which I have sent your Honour enclosed:* — and after a large treaty thereupon, the Surrender was agreed upon between us. They left behind them between Two and Three hundred muskets, Seventy horses; besides other arms and ammunition. — I humbly rest,

Your honour's humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.§

No. 7.

BATTLE OF NASEBY. BURIAL OF COLONEL PICKERING. TWO LETTERS CONCERNING ELY.

[Vol. i. p. 212, 336.]

(*a.*) THE following very rough Notes of a studious Tourist will perhaps be acceptable to some readers. Notes dashed down evidently in the most rough-and-ready manner, but with a vigilant eye both on the Old Books and on the actual Ground of Naseby; taken, as appears, in the year 1842.

"*Battle of Naseby*, 14th June 1645: *From Sprigge* (London, "1647); *Rushworth*, vi. (London, 1701); *Old Pamphlets; and* "*the Ground.*

"*Fairfax's Stages towards Naseby* (Sprigge, p. 30 *et seqq.*). "Wednesday, 11th June, a rainy day: Marched 'from Stony "Stratford to Wootton,' — three miles south of Northampton. "Bad quarters there: 'but the Mayor came,' &c. — Thursday, "12th June: From Wootton to (not 'Guilsborough four miles "west of Northampton,' as Sprigge writes, but evidently) "Kislingbury and the Farmsteads round. The King 'lies en- "camped on Burrough Hill' (five miles off); has been 'hunting,' "this day: 'his horses all at grass.' The night again wet; "Fairfax, riding about, all night, on the spy is stopped by one "of his own sentries, &c.; 'at Flower' (near Weedon), sees the "King's Forces all astir on the Burrough Hill, about four in the "morning; 'firing their huts;' rapidly making off, — North-

* Given in Rushworth, vi. 24.
§ King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 203, § 7.

"ward, as it proved. At six, a Council of War. Cromwell, "greatly to our joy, has just come-in from the Associated "Counties, — 'received with shouts.' Major Harrison, with "horse, is sent towards Daventry to explore; Ireton, also with "horse, to the Northward, after the King's main-body. 'We,' "Fairfax's main-body, now set forward 'towards Harborough,' "flanking the King; and that night, — Friday, 13th June, — "arrive (not at 'Gilling,' as Sprigge has it, — is there any such "place? — but) at Guilsborough.* Which is the last of the "*Stages*.

"The King's van is now, this Friday night, at Harborough; "his rear is quartered in Naseby, — where Ireton beats them up "(probably about half-past nine), 'taking prisoners,' &c.: and "so the fugitives rouse the King out of his bed 'at Luben- "ham;'** — who thereupon drives-off to Prince Rupert at "Harborough; arrives about midnight; calls a Council ('rest- "ing himself in a chair in a low room,' till Rupert and the rest "get on their clothes); and there, after debate,*** determines "on turning back to beat the Roundheads for this affront. — "Ireton lies at Naseby, therefore; 'we' (Fairfax and the Army), "at Guilsborough, all this night.

"*Battle of Naseby.* Saturday, 14th June 1645. Starting "at three in the morning, we arrive about five at Naseby. King "'reported to be at Harborough,' uncertain whitherward next: "behold, 'great bodies of his troops are *seen* coming over the "Hill from Harborough towards us;' — he has turned, and is "for fighting us then! We put our Army in order, — 'large "fallow field northwest of Naseby,' 'the brow of the Hill running "east and west' 'for something like a mile:' King has sunk out "of sight in a hollow; but comes up again nearer us,† and "now evidently drawn-out for battle. We fall back, 'about a "hundred paces, from the brow of the Hill,' to hide ourselves "and our plans: he rushes on the faster, thinking we run "('much of his ordnance left behind'): the Battle joins on the "very brow of the Hill. Their word, *Queen Mary;* ours, *God "is our Strength.*

"About Three-hundred Musketeers of ours on the Left Wing, "are advanced a little, as a forlorn, down the *steep* of the Hill;

* Rushworth, vi. 46 (Despatch from the Parliament Commissioners).
** See Iter Carolinum, too. *** See Clarendon, &c.
† "At Sibbertoft" (Rushworth).

"they retire firing, as Rupert charges up: Ireton and Skippon "command in this quarter; 'Lantford Hedges,' a kind of "thicket which runs right down the Hill, is lined with Colonel "Okey and his dragoons, — all on *foot* at present, and firing "lustily on Rupert as he gallops past. — Cromwell is on the ex- "treme Right (easternmost part of the Hill): he, especially "Whalley under him, dashes down *before* the Enemy's charge "upwards (which is led by Langdale) can take effect; scatters "said charge to the winds; not without hard cutting: a good "deal impeded 'by furze-bushes' and 'a cony-warren.' *These* "Royalist Horse, Langdale's, fled all behind their own Foot, "'a quarter of a mile from the Battle-ground,' — *i. e.* near to the "present Farm of Dust Hill, or between that and Clipstow; — "and never fought again. So that Cromwell had only to keep "*them* in check; and aid his own Main-battle to the left of him: "which he diligently did.

"Our Right Wing, then, has beaten Langdale. But Rupert, "on the other side of the field, beats back our Left: — over "'Rutput Hill,' 'Fenny Hill' (*Fanny* Hill, as the Old Books call "it); towards Naseby Hamlet; on to our Baggage-train (which "stands on the *northwest side* of the Hamlet, *eastward* of said "'Rutput' and 'Fenny,' but northward of 'Leane Leafe Hill,' "very sober 'Hills,' I perceive!). Our extreme Left was "'hindered by pits and ditches' in charging, at any rate, it lost "the charge; fled: and Rupert now took to attacking the Bag- "gage and its Guard, — in vain, and with very wasteful delay. "For our Main-battle too was in a critical state; and might have "been overset, at this moment. Our Main-battle, — our Horse "on the Left of it giving way; and the King's Foot 'coming up "into sight,' over the brow of the Hill, 'with one terrible "volley,' and then with swords and musket-butts, — 'mostly all "fled.' Mostly all: except the Officers, who 'snatched the "colours,' 'fell into the Reserves with them,' &c. And then, "said Reserves now rushing on, and the others rallying to them; "and Cromwell being victorious and diligent on the Right, and "Rupert idle among the Baggage on the Left, — the whole "business was erelong *retrieved;* and the King's Foot and other "Force were all driven pell-mell down the Hill: towards Dust "Hill (or *eastward* of the present Farm-house, I think). There "the King still stood, — joined at last by Rupert, and strug- "gling to rally his Horse for another brush; but the Foot would "*not halt*, the Foot were all off: and the Horse too, seeing

"Cromwell with all *our* Horse and victorious Foot now again "ready for a second charge, would not stand it; but broke; and "dissipated, towards Harborough, Leicester, and Infinite "Space.

"The Fight began at ten o'clock;* lasted three hours:** "there were some Five-thousand Prisoners; how many Slain I "cannot tell."

(*b.*) Colonel Pickering, a distinguished Officer, whose last notable exploit was at the storm of Basing House, has caught the epidemic, "new disease" as they call it, some ancient *influenza* very prevalent and fatal during those wet winter-operations; and after a few days' illness, "at Autree" (St. Mary *Ottery*) where the headquarter was, is dead. Sir Gilbert, his brother, is a leading man in Parliament, with much service yet before him; — Cousin Dryden, one day to be Poet Dryden, is in Northamptonshire, a lad of fourteen at present. Sprigge (p. 156) has a pious copy of "sorrowful verse over dear Colonel Pickering's hearse;" and here is a Note concerning his funeral.

To Colonel Cicely at Pendennis Castle: These.

SIR, Tiverton, 10th December 1645.

It's the desire of Sir Gilbert Pickering that his deceased Brother, Colonel Pickering, should be interred in your Garrison; and to the end his Funeral may be solemnised with as much honour as his memory calls for, you are desired to give all possible assistance therein. The particulars will be offered to you by his Major, Major Jubbs,*** with whom I desire you to concur herein.

And believe it, Sir, you will not only lay a huge obligation upon myself and all the Officers of this Army, but I dare assure you the General himself will take it for an especial favour, and will not let it go without a full acknowledgment. — But what need I prompt him to so honourable an action whose own ingenuity will be argument sufficient herein? Whereof rests assured Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

* Clarendon. ** Cromwell's Letter.

*** "Gubbs," he writes.

§ Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections* (London, 1826), i. 22: with a Note on Cicely, and reference to "the Original among the Family Papers of the Rev. G. Moore, of Grampound."

(*c.*) A Couple of very small Letters, which have now (May, March, 1846) accidentally turned up, too late for insertion in the Text, may find their corner here.

1. The First, which is fully dated (just eight days before the Battle of Naseby), but has lost its specific Address, may without much doubt be referred to Ely and the "Fortifications" going on there.*

'*To Captain Underwood, at Ely: These.*'

CAPTAIN UNDERWOOD, Huntingdon, 6th June 1645.

I desire the guards may be very well strengthened and looked unto. Let a new breastwork be made about the gravel,** and a new work half-musket-shot behind the old work; all storm-ground** stuff. Tell Colonel Fothergill to take care of keeping strong guards. —Not having more, I rest,

Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

2. "Sir Dudley North," Baronet, of Catlidge Hall near Newmarket, is Member for Cambridgeshire; sits too, there is small doubt, in the Ely Committee at London; — is wanted now for a small County business.

The "30th of March," as we know, is but the fifth day of the then New Year: Oliver, — I find after some staggering, for his date will not suit with other things, — takes the cipher of the Old Year, as one is apt to do, and for 1647 still writes "1646." As this Entry, abridged from the Commons Journals,*** will irrefragably prove, to readers of his Letter: "John Hobart Esq. "dismissed from being Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon "Shires, and *Tristram Dyamond Esq. appointed in his place*, 1st "January 1646," which, for us, and for Cromwell too on the 30th of March following, means 1647.

For the Honourable Sir Dudley North: These.]

SIR, 'London, 30th March 1646 [*error for* 1647.]

It being desired to have the Commission of the Peace renewed in the Isle of Ely, — with some addition, as you may perceive; none left out; only Mr. Diamond, now High

* Commons Journals, iv. 161, 5; Cromwelliana, p. 16.

** Word uncertain to the Copyist.

§ Original now (May 1846) in the Baptist College, Bristol.

*** *v. 36* (1st Jan. 1646-7).

Sheriff of the County, and my Brother Desborow, added, there being great want of one in that part of the Isle where I live, — I desire you to join with me in a Certificate; and rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 8.

LANGPORT BATTLE (10th July 1645). SUMMONS TO WINCHESTER.

[Vol. I. p. 233.]

HERE is Oliver's own account of the Battle of Langport, mentioned in our Text;

'*To* — —.'

DEAR SIR, 'Langport, — July 1645.'

I have now a double advantage upon you, through the goodness of God, who still appears for us. And as for us, we have seen good things in this last mercy, — it is not inferior to any we have had; — as followeth.

We were advanced to Long-Sutton, near a very strong place of the Enemy's, called Langport; far from our Garrisons, without much ammunition, in a place extremely wanting in provisions, — the Malignant Clubmen interposing, who are ready to take all advantages against our parties, and would undoubtedly take them against our Army, if they had opportunity. — Goring stood upon the advantage of strong passes, staying until the rest of his recruits came up to his Army, with a resolution not to engage until Grenvile and Prince Charles his men were come up to him. We could not well have necessitated him to an Engagement, nor have stayed one day longer without retreating to our ammunition and to conveniency of victual.

In the morning, word was brought us, That the Enemy drew out. He did so, with a resolution to send most of his cannon and baggage to Bridgewater, — which he effected, — but with a resolution not to fight, but, trusting to his ground, thinking he could make away at pleasure.

The pass was strait between him and us; he brought two

* Original in the possession of the Rev. W. S. Spring Casborne, of Fakenham, Suffolk; a descendant of the North Family.

cannons to secure his, and laid his Musketeers strongly in the hedges. We beat-off his cannon, fell down upon his Musketeers, beat them off from their strength, and, where our Horse could scarcely pass two abreast, I commanded Major Bethel to charge them with two Troops of about one-hundred-and-twenty Horse. Which he performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable; — beat back two bodies of the Enemy's Horse, being Goring's own Brigade; brake them at sword's-point. The Enemy charged him with near 400 fresh Horse; set them all going, — until, oppressed with multitudes, he brake through them, with the loss not of above three or four men. Major Desborow seconded him, with some other of those Troops, which were about three. Bethel faced about; and they both routed, at sword's-point, a great body of the Enemy's Horse. Which gave such an unexpected terror to the Enemy's Army, that it set them all a-running. Our Foot, in the mean time, coming on bravely, and beating the Enemy from their strength, we presently had the chase to Langport and Bridgewater. We took and killed about 2000, — brake all his Foot. We have taken very many Horses, and considerable Prisoners. What are slain we know not. We have the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; Colonel Preston, Colonel Hevening̃ham, Colonel Slingsby, we know of, besides very many other Officers of quality. All Major-General Massey's party was with him, seven or eight miles from us, — and about twelve-hundred of our Foot, and three Regiments of our Horse. So that we had but Seven Regiments with us.

Thus you see what the Lord hath wrought for us. Can any creature ascribe anything to itself? Now can we give the glory to God, and desire all may do so, for it is all due unto Him! — Thus you have Long-Sutton mercy added to Naseby mercy. And to see this, is it not to see the face of God! You have heard of Naseby: it was a happy victory. As in this, so in that God was pleased to use His servants; and if men will be malicious, and swell with envy, we know Who hath said, If they will not see, yet they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at His people. — I can say this of Naseby, That when I saw

the Enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek how to order our battle, — the General having commanded me to order all the Horse, — I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to naught things that are. Of which I had great assurance; and God did it. O that men would therefore praise the Lord, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!

I cannot write more particulars now. I am going to the rendezvous of all our Horse, three miles from Bridgewater; we march that way. — It is a seasonable mercy. I cannot better tell you than write, That God will go on! — We have taken two guns, three carriages of ammunition. In the chase, the Enemy quitted Langport; when they ran out of one end of the Town, we entered the other. They fired that at which we should chase; which hindered our pursuit: but we overtook many of them. I believe we got near Fifteen-hundred Horse.

Sir, I beg your prayers. Believe, and you shall be established. I rest,

Your servant,
'OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

A couple of months after this battle, Oliver is before Winchester, and makes this Summons:

To the Mayor of the City of Winchester.

'Before Winchester,' 28th September 1645, 5 o'clock at night.

SIR,

I come not to this City but with a full resolution to save it, and the Inhabitants thereof, from ruin.

I have commanded the soldiers, upon pain of death, That no wrong be done: — which I shall strictly observe; only I expect you give me Entrance into the City, without necessitating me to force my way; which if I do, then it will not be

* Pamphlet in Lincoln College, Oxford, no. 10: "Battles of Sieges." Letter entitled "The Copy of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons, published by Authority, London, 1645."

in my power to save you or it. I expect your Answer within half an hour; and rest

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 9.

ARMY TROUBLES IN 1647.

[Vol. i. p. 274.]

THE Vote "that Field-Marshal Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton and Colonel Fleetwood," all Members of this House, "shall proceed to their charges in the Army," and endeavour to quiet all distempers there, — was passed on the 30th of April: day of the Three Troopers and Army-Letter, and directly on the back of that occurrence.* They went accordingly, perhaps on the morrow, and proceeded to business; but as nothing specific came of them, or could come, till the 8th of May, that day is taken as the date of the Deputation. — Here are Three Letters from them; one prior and one posterior; which, copied from the Tanner MSS., have got into print, but cannot throw much light on the affair.

1. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"'Saffron Walden, 3d May 1647.

"SIR, — We have sent out orders to summon the Officers of "the several Regiments to appear before us on Thursday next; "to the end we may understand from them the true condition "and temper of the Soldiers in relation to the Discontents "lately represented; and the better to prepare and enable them, "— by speaking with them, and acquainting them with your "Votes,** — to allay any Discontents that may be among the "Soldiers.

"We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your "service; though it ask some time, by reason of the distance of "the quarters. When we shall have anything worthy of your

§ History and Antiquities of Winchester (London, 1773), ii. 127.

* Commons Journals, v. 158; see antea, vol. i. p. 273.

** Votes passed that same 30th of April: That the Soldiers shall have Indemnity; that they shall have Pay, — and in short, Justice (*Commons Journals*, v. 158). "Thursday next" is the 6th of May.

"knowledge, we shall represent it; — and in the mean time "study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON." *

2. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"Saffron Walden, 8th May 1647.

"SIR, — According to our orders sent out to the Officers of "the Army, many of them appeared at the time appointed. The "greatest failing was of Horse Officers; who, by reason of the "great distance of their quarters from this place (being some of "them above three-score miles off), could not be here: yet "there were, accidentally, some of every Regiment except "Colonel Whalley's present at our Meeting; — which was upon "Friday morning, ** about ten of the clock.

"After some discourse offered unto them, About the oc- "casion of the Meeting, together with the deep sense the Parlia- "ment had of some Discontents which were in the Army, and of "our great trouble also that it should be so, — we told them, "We were sent down to communicate the House of Commons' "Votes unto them; whereby their, 'the Parliament's,' care of "giving the Army satisfaction might appear: desiring them "'furthermore' To use their utmost diligence with all good "conscience and effect, by improving their interests in the "Soldiers, *for* their satisfaction; and that they would communi- "cate to their Soldiers the Votes, together with such informa- "tions as they received then from us, to the end their distemper "might be allayed. — After this had been said, and a Copy of "the Votes delivered to the Chief Officer of every respective "Regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid, — we desired "them To give us a speedy account of the success of their "endeavours; and if in anything they needed our advice or "assistance for furthering the work, we should be ready here at "Saffron Walden to give it them, upon notice from them.

"We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the par-

* "A Letter from Major-General" (elsewhere called Field-Marshal) "Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary General Ireton, was this day read" (*Commons Journals*, 4th May 1647).

** Friday, yesterday; not "Thursday," as at first proposed.

"ticular distempers, with the grounds of them: because the "Officers were desirous to be spared therein by us, until they "might make a further inquiry amongst the Soldiers, and see "what effect your Votes and their endeavours might have with "them. We desire as speedy an account of this business as "might well be; but, upon the desire of the Officers, thought it "necessary for the service to give them until Saturday next* "to bring us an account of their business, by reason the Regi- "ments were so far distant.

"As anything falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall "represent it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD." **

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8. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"Walden, 17th May 1647.

"SIR,— We having made some progress in the Business you "commanded us upon, we are bold to give you this account. "Which, although it come not with that expedition you may "expect and your other affairs require, yet we hope you will be "pleased to excuse us with the weight of the Affair: in com- "parison whereof nothing that ever yet we undertook was, at "least to our apprehension, equal; and wherein, whatever the "issue prove, our greatest comfort is, That our consciences bear "us witness we have, according to our abilities, endeavoured "faithfully to serve you and the Kingdom.

"The Officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Satur- "day last, according to appointment, to give us a return of*** "what they had in charge from us at our last Meeting; which "was, To read your Votes to the Soldiers under their respective "commands for their satisfaction, and to improve their interest "faithfully and honestly with them to that end; and 'then' to "give us a perfect account of the effect of their endeavours, and "a true representation of the temper of the Army.

* This day week; the 15th.

** "Letter from the General Officers," "from *Walden*, of 8th *Maii* 1647, was this day read" (*Commons Journals*, Tuesday, 11th May 1647). The Letter seems to be of Cromwell's writing.

*** Means "response to."

"At this Meeting, we received what they had to offer to us. "Which they delivered to us in writing, by the hands of some "chosen by the rest of the Officers then present, and in the "name of the rest of the Officers and of the Soldiers under their "commands. Which was not done till Sunday in the evening. "At which time, and likewise before upon Saturday, we ac- "quainted them all with a Letter from the Earl of Manchester, "expressing That an Act of Indemnity, large and full, had passed "the House of Commons;* and that two weeks' pay more was "voted to those that were disbanded, as also to them that "undertook the service of Ireland. And, thinking fit to dismiss "the Officers to their several commands, — all but some that "were to stay here about further business, — we gave them in "charge To communicate these last Votes to their Soldiers, and "to improve their utmost diligence and interest for their best "satisfaction.

"We must acknowledge, we found the Army under a deep "sense of some sufferings, and the common Soldiers much un- "settled; whereof, that which we have to represent to you will "give you a more perfect view. Which, because it consists of "many papers, and needs some more method in the representa- "tion of them to you than can be done by letter, and forasmuch "as we were sent down by you to our several charges *to do our "best to keep the Soldiers in order*, — we are not well satisfied, "any of us, to leave the place nor duty you sent us to, until we "have the signification of your pleasure to us. To which we "shall most readily conform; and rest,

"Your most humble servants,
"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."**

Nr. 10.

WELSH DISTURBANCES IN 1648.

[Vol. ii. p. 8.]

1. SOME charge of Welsh misbehaviour, perhaps treachery, in the late May revolt; charge which, if founded, ought to be made good against "Edwards!" Colonel Hughes has been Governor of Chepstow, from the time when it was first taken in

* Commons Journals, v. 174 (14th May 1647).
** Tanner MSS. (in Cary, i. 205-16.)

autumn 1645;* and, we may infer, has returned to his post since Ewers (25th May 1648) retook the Castle. Of Edwards, and his misdeeds, and his accusers, no other clear trace has occurred to me. But in Moyne's Court, Monmouthshire, the seat of this Colonel Thomas Hughes, the following old Note had turned up, and was printed in 1791.

'*To Colonel Hughes, Chepstow Castle.*'

COLONEL HUGHES, 'Before Pembroke,' 26th June 1648.

It's of absolute necessity that Collington and Ashe do attend the Council of War, to make good what they say of Edwards. Let it be your especial care to get them into Monmouthshire thereunto. What Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Cradock hath (*sic*) promised to them in point of indemnity, I will endeavour to have it performed; and I desire you to certify as much to them for their encouragement. I pray do this speedily after receipt hereof, and I shall remain

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

[2. A short Letter to the Committee of Carmarthen. The ancient "Iron-furnaces" at Carmarthen, the "Committee" sitting there, the "Paper" or Proclamation from the Leaguer: these, and the other points of this Letter, will be intelligible to the reader.

For my noble Friends the Committee of Carmarthen: These.

GENTLEMEN, The Leaguer before Pembroke, 9th June 1648.

I have sent this Bearer to you to desire we may have your furtherance and assistance in procuring some necessaries to be cast in the Iron-furnaces in your county of Carmarthen, which will the better enable us to reduce the Town and Castle of Pembroke.

The principal things are: Shells for our Mortarpiece; the depth of them we desire may be of fourteen inches and three-quarters of an inch. That which I desire at your hands is, To cause the service to be performed, and that with all possible

* Commons Journals, iv. 391 and v. 115.

§ The *Topographer*, edited by Sir E. Brydges (London, March 1791), iv. 125-6.

expedition; that so, if it be the will of God, the service being done, these poor wasted countries may be freed from the burden of the Army.

In the next place, we desire some D cannon-shot, and some culverin-shot, may with all possible speed be cast for us, and hasted to us also.

We give you thanks for your care in helping us with bread and [*word lost*]. You do herein a very special service to the State; and I do most earnestly desire you to continue herein, according to our desire in the late Letters. I desire that copies of this Paper* may be published throughout your county, and the effects thereof observed; for the ease of the county, and to avoid the wronging of the country men.

Not doubting the continuance of your care to give assistance to the Public in the services we have in hand, I rest,

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL. §

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8. In the Town Archives of Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, are the following three Papers; footmarks, still visible, of Oliver's transit through those parts. Twelfth July, date of the first Paper, is the morrow after Pembroke surrendered.

(*a.*) "*To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.*

"We being authorised by Parliament to view and consider "what Garrisons and Places of Strength are fit to be de- "molished; and we finding that the Castle of Haverford is not "tenable for the services of the State, and yet that it may be "possessed by ill-affected persons, to the prejudice of the peace "of these parts: These are to authorise you to summon in the "Hundred of Roose and the inhabitants of the Town and "County of Haverfordwest; and that they forthwith demolish "the several walls and towers of the said Castle; so as that the "said Castle may not be possessed by the Enemy, to the en- "dangering of the peace of these parts.

"Given under our hands, this 12th of July 1648.

"ROGER LORT. JOHN LORT.
"SAMSON LORT. THOMAS BARLOWE.

* Some *Proclamation* seemingly, — of the conceivable sort.

§ Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (London, 1834), p. 355. "Original in the hands of Richard Williams, Esq., Stapleton Hall, Barnsley."

"We expect an account of your proceedings, with effect, in "this business, by Saturday being the 15th of July instant."

To which Oliver appends:

If a speedy course be not taken to fulfil the commands of this Warrant, I shall be necessitated to consider of settling a Garrison. OLIVER CROMWELL.

(b.) *"For the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cromwell at Pembroke.*

"Haverfordwest, 13th July 1648.

"HONOURED SIR, — We received an Order from your "Honour and the Committee, for the demolishing of the Castle "of Haverfordwest. According to which we have this day set "some workmen about it: but we find the work so difficult to "be brought about without powder to blow it by, that it will "exhaust an 'huge' sum of money, and will not in a long time "be effected.

"Wherefore we become suitors of your Honour that there "may a competent quantity of Powder be spared out of the "Ships, for the speedy effecting the work, and the County "paying for the same. And we likewise desire that your "Honour and the Committee be pleased that the whole County "may join with us in the work; and that an Order be con- "sidered for the levying of a competent sum of money on the "several Hundreds of the County, for the paying for the Powder, "and defraying the rest of the charge.

"Thus being over-bold to be troublesome to your Honour; "desiring to know your Honour's resolves, — we rest,

"Your Honour's humble servants,

"JOHN PRYNNE, *Mayor*.

"JENKIN HOWELL. WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

"WILLIAM BOWEN. JOB DAVIES.

"ROGER BEVANS. ETHELDRED DAVIES."

Gunpowder cannot be spared on light occasion; and "levying of competent sums" have had their difficulties before now: here is the handier method:

(c.) *To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.*

Whereas upon view and consideration with Mr. Roger Lort, Mr. Samson Lort, and the Mayor and Aldermen of *Haverfordwest*, it is thought fit, for the preserving of the

peace of this County, that the Castle of Haverfordwest should be speedily demolished:

These are to authorise you to call unto your assistance, in the performance of this exercise (?), the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of Dungleddy, Dewisland, Kemis, Roose and Kilgerran; who are hereby required to give you assistance.

Given under our hands this 14th of July 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL

['and the two Lorts in a corner of the Paper'].§

No. 11.

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE AFTER PRESTON BATTLE.

[Vol. ii. p. 40.]

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the Letter in the Text to the York Committee to help in pursuit of Duke Hamilton, Oliver writes home for fresh Supplies.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House: These. Haste, haste.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, Wigan, 23d August 1648.

I did not (being straitened with time) send you an account of the great blessing of God upon your Army: — I trust it is satisfactory to your Lordships that the House had it so fully presented to them.

My Lords, it cannot be imagined that so great a business as this could be without some Loss; — although I 'confess' very little compared with the weightiness of the Engagement; there being on our part not an Hundred Slain, yet many Wounded. And to our little it is a real weakening, for indeed we are but a handful. I submit to your Lordships, whether you will think fit or no To recruit our Loss; we having but Five poor Regiments of foot, and our horse so exceedingly battered as I never saw them in all my life. — It is not to be doubted but your Enemy's designs are deep: this Blow will make them very angry: the principles they went on were such as should a little awaken Englishmen; for I have

§ Printed in *Welshman* Newspaper (Carmathen, 29th Dec. 1848).

heard it from very good hands of their own party, that the Duke made this the argument to his Army, That the Lands of the Country and — [*illegible the next line or two, from ruin of the paper; the words lost mean clearly, "That the Scots were to share our lands among them, and come to inhabit the conquered country:" a very high figure of rumour indeed!*] which accordingly is done in part, there being a Transplantation of many women and children and of whole families in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as I am credibly informed [*for the moment!*] — Much more might be said; but I forbear. I offer it to your Lordships that Money may be 'sent' to pay the foot and horse to some equality. Some of those that are here seventy days before I marched from Windsor into Wales have not had any pay; and amongst the horse, my own Regiment and some others are much behind. I wish your Lordships may manage it for the best advantage, and not be wanting to yourselves in what is necessary: which is the end of my offering these things to you. My Lords, Money is not for Contingencies so as were to be wished; we have very many things to do which might be better done if we had wherewithal. Our Foot want Clothes, Shoes and Stockings; these ways and weather have shattered them all to pieces: that wich was the great blow to our Horse was (beside the weather and incessant marches) our March ten miles to fight with the Enemy, and a Fight continuing four hours in as dirty a place as ever I saw horse stand in; and, upon the matter, the continuance of this Fight two days more together in our following the Enemy, and lying close by him in the mire — [*moths again and mildew* ..... until at length we broke him at a near ..... a great party of our horse having ..... miles towards Lancaster; who came up ..... to us, and were with us in all the Action]. — These things I thought fit to intimate, not knowing what is fit to ask, because I know not how your Affairs stand, nor what you can supply.

I have sent Major-General Lambert, upon the day I received the Enclosed, with above Two-Thousand horse and dragoons and about Fourteen-Thousand foot in prosecution

of the Duke and the Nobility of Scotland with him; who will, I doubt not, have the blessing of God with him in the business. But indeed his horse are exceeding weak and weary.— I have sent to Yorkshire and to my Lord Grey to alarm all parts to a prosecution: and if they be not wanting to the work, I see not how many can escape. I am marched myself back to Preston; — and so on towards Monro or otherwise, as God shall direct.

As things fall out, I shall represent them to you; and rest,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most humble 'servant,'

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 12.

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE IN 1648.

[Vol. ii. p. 64.]

RECAPITULATING what is already known in the Text; finds its place here.

To the Right Honourable the Committe of Lords and Commons at Derby House.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, Norham, 20th Sept. 1648.

I did, from Alnwick, write to Sir William Armyn* an account of our condition; and recommended to him divers particular considerations about your affairs here in the North, — with a desire of particular things to be done by your Lordships' appointment, in order to the carrying-on of your affairs. I send you here a copy of the Summons that was sent to Berwick** when I was come as far as Alnwick; as also of a Letter written to the Committee of Estates of Scotland:***— I mean those who we did presume were convened as Estates, and were the men that managed the business of the War. But there being, as I learned since, none such; the Earl of Roxburgh and some others having deserted, so that they are not

§ Tanner MSS. lvii. (1.) 229. Original signed inside and out by Cromwell: much injured by mildew and moths.

* Original Member for Grantham; one of the Committee, and from of old busy in those International concerns.

** Letter LXX. (vol. ii. p. 51.) *** Letter LXXII. (vol. ii. p. 59.)

able to make a Committee; — I believe the said Letter is suppressed,* and retained in the hands of Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe, For whom we "had" obtained a safe Convoy to go to the Estates of that Kingdom with our said Letter; the Governor of Berwick's Answer to our Summons leading us thereunto. By advantage whereof we did instruct them to give all assurances to the Marquis of Argyle and the Honest Party in Scotland, — who we heard were gathered together in a considerable Body about Edinburgh, to make opposition to the Earl of Lanark, Monro, and their Armies, — of our good affection to them. Wherewith they went the 16th of this month.

Upon the 17th of this month Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan, with divers other Scots Gentlemen, brought me this enclosed Letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as your Lordships will see. They also showed me their Instructions, and a Paper containing the matter of their Treaty with Lanark and Monro; as also an Expostulation upon Lanark's breach with them, — in falling upon Argyle and his men, contrary to agreement, wherein the Marquis hardly escaped, they having hold of him, but Seven-hundred of his men were killed and taken.** These Papers I also send here enclosed to your Lordships.

So soon as those Gentlemen came to me, I called a Council of War; the result whereof was the Letter directed to the Lord Chancellor;*** a Copy whereof your Lordships have here enclosed. Which I delivered to Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan; with which they returned upon the 18th, being the next day.

Upon private discourse with these Gentlemen, I do find the condition of their Affairs and their Army to be thus: The Earl of Lanark, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Monro, and their Army, hearing of our advance, and understanding the condition and endeavours of their Adversaries, — marched with all speed to get possession of Stirling-Bridge; that so

* Not "suppressed," though it cannot be received except unofficially (vol. ii. p. 54).

** Bishop Guthry's Memoirs. *** Letter LXXIII. (vol. ii. p. 56.)

they might have three parts in four of Scotland at their backs, to raise men, and to enable themselves to carry on their designs. They were about 5,000 Foot, and 2,500 Horse. The Earl of Leven, who is chosen General; the Marquis of Argyle, with the Honest Lords and Gentlemen, David Lesley being the Lieutenant-General: "these," having about 7,000 Foot, but very weak in Horse, — lie about six miles this side the Enemy. I hear that their Infantry consists of men who come to them out of conscience; and are generally of the Godly People of that Nation, which they express by their piety and devotion in their quarters; and indeed I hear they are a very goldly and honest body of men.

I think it is not unknown to your Lordships what directions I have received from you for the prosecution of our late Victory. Whereof I shall be bold to remember a clause of your Letter; which was, "That I should prosecute the re-"maining Party in the North, and not leave any of them, "wheresoever they go, to be a beginning of a new Army; nor "cease to pursue the Victory till I finish and fully complete it "with the rendition of those Towns of Berwick and Carlisle, "which most unjustly, and against all obligations, and the "Treaties then in force, they surprised and garrisoned "against us."

In order whereunto, I marched to the Borders of Scotland: where I found the whole Country so harassed and impoverished by Monro and the Forces with him, that the Country was no way able to bear us on the English side; but we must necessarily have ruined both your Army and the Subjects of this Kingdom, who would not have had bread for a day if we had continued among them. In prosecution of your Orders, and in answer to the necessities of your friends in Scotland, and their desires; and considering the necessity of marching into Scotland, to prevent the Governor of Berwick from putting of provisions into his Garrisons on the Scots side, whereof he is at present in some want, as we are informed, — I marched a good part of the Army over Tweed yesterday about noon, the residue being to come after as conveniently as we may.

Thus have I given your Lordships an account of our present condition and engagement. And having done so, I must discharge my duty in remembering to your Lordships the Desires formerly expressed in my Letters to Sir William Armyn and Sir John Evelyn, for supplies; and in particular for that of Shipping to be upon these Coasts, who may furnish us with Ammunition or other necessaries wheresoever God shall lead us; there being extreme difficulty to supply us by land, without great and strong convoys, which will weary-out and destroy our Horse, and cannot well come to us if the Tweed be up, without going very far about.

Having laid these things before you, I rest,

Your Lordships' most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Whilst we are here, I wish there be no neglect of the Business in Cumberland and Westmoreland. I have sent Orders both into Lancashire and to the Horse before Pontefract. I should be glad your Lordships would second them, and those other considerations expressed in my Desires to Sir William Armyn thereabouts. §

No. 13.

LETTER ON BEHALF OF YOUNG CHOLMELY.

[Vol. i. p. 329.]

WRITTEN on the march from Carlisle to Pontefract.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

SIR, Boroughbridge, 28th October 1648.

I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy Gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely, to entreat your favour in his behalf.

The case stands thus. His son Major Cholmely, who was bold in the Fight against the Scots at Berwick,* was Custom-

§ Old Pamphlet: in Parliamentary History, xvii. 481.

* Against Munro, I suppose, when he ended his marandings in that quarter (vol. i. p. 301).

master at Carlisle; — the Gentleman "had" merited well from you. Since his death, his aged Father, having lost this his Eldest Son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavours to procure the place for a Younger Son, who had likewise been in your service. And resolving to obtain my Letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an *undertenant* of the place for his Son with this his purpose To come to me to the borders of Scotland to obtain the said Letter; — which the said servant "or undertenant" did say, Was very well.

And when the said Lieutenant-Colonel was come for my Letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, prefers a Petition to the House of Commons; gets a reference to the Committee of the Navy; who approve of the said man, "the undertenant," by the mediation of some gentlemen: — but I hear there is a stop of it in the House.

My humble suit to you is, That if Colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business, — I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it, — you would be pleased to further his desire concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely's youngest Son, that *he* may have the place conferred upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith.

By which you will very much oblige,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 14.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MAYOR OF WATERFORD.

[Vol. ii. p. 89.]

PRESERVED in the anonymous Fragment of a Narrative, more than once referred to, are these Letters and Replies:

LETTER 1. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.*

GENTLEMEN, Kilbarry, near Waterford, 21st November 1649.

I have received information that you hitherto refuse a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed upon you; as also that some

§ Tanner mss. (in Cary, ii. 46.)

Factions in the Town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusal, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, if the fault be not in themselves; and purposing also, by God's assistance, to reduce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by Force, or by Agreement with you upon Terms wherein your own good and happiness, and that of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding "what" some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary; "and" knowing that if after all this you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you out of a capacity to make any such Accord for yourselves, which was the cause of the ruin of the Town and people of Wexford,—I thought fit to lay these things before you; leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that *they* gave you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power (*sic*) and in commerce with England. It shall be your own faults if you do not so again. I send these intimations timeously to you: weigh them well; it so behoves you. I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 1. "*For General Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces in Ireland.*

"Waterford, 23d November 1649.

"MY LORD, — Your Letter of the 21st, directed to me and "my Aldermen, we have, by your Trumpet, received. Your "Lordship's advice, as we do all others, we weigh with the con- "dition of our safety; and so far shall make use thereof as it "contributes to the same.

"For your intentions of reducing this City, by Force or "Agreement: — as we will by all possible means endeavour our "natural defence against the first, so happily will we not be "averse to the latter, — if we shall find it not dishonourable nor

"destructive. And for that purpose 'we' do desire your Lord-"ship will grant us a Cessation, for fifteen days, from all acts of "hostility; and send us Safe-conducts, with blanks for the men "we shall employ, to treat with your Lordship; and in the in-"terim bring your Army no nearer this City than now it is.

"We have learned not to slight advice, if we find it whole-"some, even from an enemy's hands; nor to deny him such "thanks as it merits. And if your Lordship should deny us the "time we look for, we doubt not, — with the men we have "already in Town, though we should receive no more, — to "make good this Place, till the Power of the Kingdom re-"lieves us.

"To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Com-"mons have laid their commands on me,

"My Lord,

"Your very loving friend,

"JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 2. *For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of Waterford.*

From my Camp before Waterford,
24th November 1649.

GENTLEMEN,

I expected to have heard from you before this, by my Trumpet; but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send, That I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit —

Hereby to summon you To surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things, and rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 2. "*For the Lieutenant-General Cromwell.*

"Waterford, 24th November 1649.

"MY LORD, — Your Letter of the 24th I have received even "now; in which you desire an account of your Lordship's Trum-"peter, sent with a former Letter to us; and summon us to de-"liver your Lordship this City and Fort.

"Your Lordship's former Letter by your Trumpeter we have "answered yesterday morning; and do doubt, by the Trum-

"peter's not coming to you, he might have suffered some "mischance by going the County-of-Kilkenny way. We there- "fore now send you a Copy of that Answer;* to which we "desire your Lordship's resolution. Before we receive which, "we cannot make further answer to the rest of your Letter.

"We therefore desire you will despatch the Safe-conduct "desired, and forbear acts of hostility during the Treaty; — and "yon shall be very soon attended by Commissioners from,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's servant,

"JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 3. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.*

SIRS, 'Before Waterford,' 24th November 1649.

My first Trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect that, as you say, he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your Letter sooner, I should nevertheless, by the help of God, have marched up to this place, as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that way, for the prevention of blood and ruin, than to the other of Force; — although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling Power of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a Cessation for Fifteen Days, I shall not agree thereunto; because a far shorter time may bring this Business to a conclusion as well. But for Four or Five Days I am content that there be a Cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your City and this Army: — provided you give me assurance That, in the mean time, no soldiers not now in your City be received into it, during the Cessation, nor for Twenty-four hours after.

I expect to have your present answer hereto: because, if this be agreed-to, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said Cessation.

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

* Reply 1; already given.

I have by this Bearer returned a Safe-convoy, as you desire, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.§

No. 15.

Exchange of Prisoners: Renegado Wogan.

[Vol. ii. p. 220.]

The Narrative Fragment above cited has these words, in reference to the affair at Passage and its consequences: "At that "time, there being one Captain Caufield a prisoner at Clonmel, "a stranger to the General, but being a prisoner on an English "account, the Army concerned themselves for him, and at a "Council of War certain Votes were passed," which we shall soon read:

'*For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel.*

'Cork, 4th January 1649.'

"At the Council of War held at the City of Cork, the Fourth "day of January, Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieu- "tenant of Ireland, the Lord President of Munster,* Sir Hard- "ress Waller knight, and divers other chief Officers of the Army "were present, it was resolved as followeth:

"1. That a Letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Farrell's "Trumpet, to let him know, That for every private Foot-soldier "of our party, prisoner with him, whom he shall release, he "shall have so many of his private soldiers, prisoners with us, "released for them; and for every Trooper of ours which he "shall release, he shall have Two private Foot-soldiers released "for him.

"2. That the Lord-Lieutenant is ready to release Officers of "like quality for such Officers of ours as are in their power; and "that he will deliver a Major of Foot for a Captain of Horse, "and Two Captains of Foot for a Captain of Horse; and so pro- "portionably.

"3. Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl "of Ormond's Brother, for those Officers of ours now in their "custody."

Sir,

Having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal Officers of the Irish Army did send menacing Orders

§ Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough mss. no. 4769, p. 95 *et seqq.*

* Ireton.

to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broghil, That if we did put to death Colonel Wogan, they were ready to put Captain Caufield to death, — I thought fit to offer to you the equal Exchanges before mentioned; leaving you to your election. Which when you perform, there shall be just and honest performance on my part. And withal to let you know, That if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a Person so obnoxious as Wogan, — who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he had seduced) into a Foreign Nation,* to invade England, under whom he had taken pay, and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said Nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here: — That 'then, I say,' as I am willing to the Exchanges aforesaid; so, 'if' that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, That I am resolved to deal with Colonel Wogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caufield as is menaced, I think fit to let you know, That I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition.

Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.§

No. 16.

IRELAND: ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE THERE.

[Vol. ii. p. 222.]

For my very worthy Friend John Sadler, Esq., one of the Masters of the Chancery in England: These.

SIR, Cork, 31st Dec. 1649.

To put a business of weight suddenly to your consideration may perhaps beget so much prejudice as may cause you either not to think of it at all, or to incline to the worser part

* Scotland: to join Hamilton and his *Engagement*.
§ Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough mss. no. 4769, *ubi supra*.

when you resolve. The thing I have to offer hath been thought upon by us, as you will perceive by the reasons wherewith we enforce it; and we do willingly tender it to you; desiring God, not you, may give us the answer.

That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this Nation, I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for; and are persuaded that He hath a farther end; and that as by this dispensation He hath manifested His severity and justice, so there will be a time wherein He will manifest grace and mercy, in which He so much delights. To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, That we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us; — and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that Kingdom of Glory and Peace which He hath promised. This being so, as the hope thereof occasions our comfort, so the seeing some way made already cannot but 'raise' hope that goodness and mercy intends to visit this poor Island. Therefore in what we may as poor instruments, 'we' cannot but be endeavouring to answer the mind of God as any opportunity offers itself.

First let me tell you, in divers places where we come, we find the people very greedy after the Word, and flocking to Christian meetings; much of that prejudice that lies upon poor people in England being a stranger to their minds. And truly we have hoped much of it is done in simplicity; and I mind you the rather of this because it is a sweet symptom, if not an earnest, of the good we expect.

In the next place, our condition was such at our arrival here, — by reason of the War, and prevalency of the Enemy, — that there was a dissolution of the whole frame of Government; there being no visible authority residing in persons entrusted to act according to the forms of law, except in two corporations [*Dublin and Derry at our arrival*], in this whole Land. And although it hath pleased God to give us much territory, yet how to fall suddenly into that way again, I see not; nor is it for the present practicable. Wherefore I am

constrained, of my own authority, to issue out Commissions to persons to hear and determine the present controversies that do arise, as they may.

Sir, it seems to me we have a great opportunity to set up, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine, a way of doing justice amongst these poor people, which, for the uprightness and cheapness of it, may exceedingly gain upon them, — who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as (I believe) any people in that which we call Christendom. And indeed 'they' are accounted the bribing'st [*so to speak!*] people that are; they having been inured thereto. Sir, if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful; and draw more hearts after it! — I am loath to write what the consequences might be, or what may be said upon this subject; — and therefore I shall let you know my desire in a word.

There uses to be a Chief-Justice in the Province of Munster, who having some others with him in assistance uses to hear and determine Causes depending there; you are desired by me to accept of that employment. I do believe that nothing will suit your mind better than having a standing Salary for the same; that so you may not be troubled with common allowances, which have been to others (I doubt) but a colour to their covetous practices. I dare assure you 'of' £1,000 a-year, half-yearly, to be paid by even parts, as your allowance; — and although this be more than hath usually been allowed, yet shall we have wherewith readily to make performance, if you accept.

I know not how far this desire of mine will be interpreted by you as a call: but sure I am I have not done anything with a clearer breast, nor wherein I do more approve my heart to the Lord and His people in sincerity and uprightness; — the Lord direct you what to do. I desire a few things of you: let my Letter be as little seen as you may; — you know what

constructions are usually put upon some men's actings; and (were it fit to be committed to paper) would 'be' if I should say That this business, by the blessing of God, might be so managed as might abate much superfluity. I desire you not to discourse of the allowance but to some choice friends. Next I could desire, if you have any acquaintance with Mr. Graves the Lawyer, you would move him to the acceptance of a place here, which should be honourable, and not to his outward disadvantage. And any other godly and able man you know of. Let me have your mind so soon as conveniently you may; and whether you have tried any as is desired, and whom, and what return they make.

Desiring your prayers, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

[No. 17.

IRELAND: OPERATIONS IN TIPPERARY.

[Vol. ii. p. 252.]

COLONEL PHAYR is in Cork, "with near Five-hundred foot," since November last; Broghil, Fenton, and their relation to him, were also indicated in the Text.*

For Colonel Phayr, Governor of Cork: These. Haste, haste.

SIR, Fethard, 9th February 1649.

It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto, in the possessing of Cashel, Fethard and Roghill Castle, without any blood. Callan cost us at least four or five men; but we are possessed of it also, and of divers other places of good importance. We are in the very bowels of Tipperary; and hope, will lie advantageously (by the blessing of God) for further attempts.

§ General Dictionary (by Birch, Bernard &c., London, 1739), vol. ix. 19-20, § SADLER (materials furnished by "Thos. Sadler, Deputy Clerk of the Pells," a descendant of this Sadler's).

Sadler did not go; John Cooke, Advocate famed in the King's trial, went. Of Graves I know nothing. Sadler has left some Books; indicating a strange corner of dreamy imaginativeness, in his otherwise solid, lucid and pious mind. A man much esteemed by Hartlib, Milton's friend, and by the world legal and other. He continued one of the Masters in Oliver's new Chancery, when the number was reduced to six.

* Letters CXIV. CXV. vol. ii. pp. 202, 203.

Many places take up our men: wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can. If you can send Two Companies more of your Regiment to Mallow,* do it. If not, One at the least; that so my Lord Broghil may spare us Two or Three of Colonel Ewers's, to meet him with the rest of his** Regiment at Fermoy.

Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the Business I have sent to him about. Salute all my Friends with you. My service to Sir William Fenton. Pray for us. I rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' Sir, if you think that we draw you too low in men whilst we are inactive, — I presume you are in no danger; however, I desire you would make this use of it, To rid the Town of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as you can. And herein deal with effect. §

No. 18.

HASELRIG AND DUNBAR BATTLE.

[Vol. ii. p. 346.]

HERE, by the kindness of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne, are now (for our *Third* and all other *Editions*) the Letters themselves. This Gentleman, Grandson of the "Steward of the Haselrigs" mentioned at p. 345, vol. ii., possesses all the Four Cromwell Letters alluded to by Brand; and has now (May 1847) beneficently furnished an exact copy of them, privately printed. Letter CXXXIX. alone is autograph; the other Three are in a Clerk's hand. Letter CXXXIX., Letter CXLI., these and the Two which follow here, it appears, Mr. O.'s Grandfather "begged "from the fire, on a day when much destruction of old Letters "and waste Papers was going on at Nosely Hall," — Letter CXXXIX. and all England are somewhat obliged to him! Here are the other Two:

* "Mayallo" *in orig.* ** *i. e.* Colonel Ewers's.

§ Gentleman's Magazine for March 1843, p. 266. Endorsed, by Phayr, "The Lo. Lieu't Letter to mee the ninth of Febr 1649; About sending men." By another hand there is also written on the outside. "Mallo posest," — meaning, probably for Phayr's information, *Mallow possessed* (got, laid *hold of*).

1. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These*

SIR, Dunbar, 5th September 1650.

After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these Prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur) but by sending them into England; where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom and better judgment in so dispersing and disposing of them, as that they may not suddenly return to your prejudice.

We have despatched away near 5,000 poor wretches of them; very many of which, it's probable, will die of their wounds, or be rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State, desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of: and I make no question but you will hasten the Prisoners up Southwards, and second my desires with your own to the Council. I know you are a man of business. This, not being every-day's work, will willingly be performed by you; especially considering you have the commands of your Superior.

Sir, I judge it exceeding necessary you send us up what Horse and Foot you can, with all possible expedition; especially considering that indeed our men fall very sick; and if the Lord shall please to enable us effectually to prosecute this Business, to the which He hath opened so gracious a way, no man knows but that it may produce a Peace to England, and much security and comfort to God's People. Wherefore, I pray you, continue to give what furtherance you can to this Work, by speeding such supplies to us as you can possibly spare. — Not having more at present, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

2. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These: Haste, haste.*

SIR, Edinburgh, 9th September 1650.

I cannot but hasten you in sending-up what Forces pos-

§ Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

sibly you can. This enclosed was intended to you on Saturday, but could not come.

We are not able to carry on our business as we would, until we have wherewith to keep Edinburgh and Leith, — until we attempt, and are acting, forwards. We have not, in these parts, 'at such a season of the year,' above two months to keep the field. Therefore expedite what you can! And I desire you to send us free Masons; — you know not the importance of Leith.

I hope your Northern Guests are come to you, by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the Officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester. — I have no more; but rest, Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire, as forces come up, I may hear from time to time what they are, how their marches are laid, and when I may expect them.

My service to the dear Lady. §

No. 19.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF COLONEL MALEVERER'S FAMILY.

[Vol. iii. p. 29.]

'*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Edinburgh, 28th December 1650.

It having pleased God to take away by death Colonel John Maleverer, a very useful member of this Army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad Widow and seven small Children.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service, and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of

§ Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. Besides the Signature, "My service to the dear Lady" is also autograph.

sickness during this hard service in your field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the Public service before his private relations. And (as I have been credibly informed) his losses by the Royal and Malignant Party have been very great; being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his Country for the Parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 20.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF JOHN ARUNDEL OF TRERICE.

[Vol. iii. p. 63.]

OLIVER is now in Scotland, busy enough with great matters; must not neglect the small either. "This Enclosed" * is from an Ex-Royalist Gentleman, Mr. John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall; and relates to what is now an old story, the Surrender of Pendennis Castle to Fairfax's people (August 1646); in which Mr. John, by the arbitrary conduct of a certain Parliamentary Official, suffers huge damage at this time, — a fine of no less than £10,000, "quite ruinous to my poor estate," and clear against bargain at the rendition of Pendennis, being now laid upon him by the arbitrary Parliamentary Official in those parts. As not only human justice, but the honour of the Army is concerned, Mr. John has written to the Lord General, — the Trerice Arundels, he alleges furthermore, having once "had the "honour to stand in some friendship, or even kinship, with your "noble family." Oliver writes in consequence:

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Glasgow, 25th April 1651.

Receiving this Enclosed, and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith-keeping, and the direction

§ Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 243.) * Ibid. ii. 258.

not improper to myself from the Party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the Army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by what steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed Letter of the Gentleman's will make manifest unto you: — I make bold humbly to present the Business to the Parliament.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied: but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that. And this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you; and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 21.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF COLONEL CLAYTON.

[Vol. iii. p. 67.]

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 10th May 1651.

I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of Colonel Randall Clayton; — who, being taken prisoner* when I was in Ireland, was with some other Officers judged to die, as those that had formerly served the Parliament, but were then partakers with the Lord Inchiquin in his Revolt: and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief Officers, I thought meet to give him, the said Colonel Randall Clayton, his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his Country: and indeed there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe he will hereafter prove an useful member unto the State, upon the best account.

§ Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 243.)

* See Letter CXXX. and Whitlocke, p. 438.

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the Parliament for the taking-off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you To pass such a special act of favour towards him, whereby he will be engaged and enabled to improve his interest the more vigorously, in his place, for the advantage of the Public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tenderness. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 22.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF COLONEL BORLACE.

[Vol. iii. p. 68.]

'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

SIR, Edinburgh, 13th June 1651.

Having received the enclosed Petition and Letter from the Officers of a Court of War at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the Army concerning the Articles of Truro,* in the particular case of Colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the Petitioner himself having come hither to Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said Articles be performed, and that the faith of the Army thereupon given might be made good: — I do therefore humbly desire That the Parliament will take his case into consideration, and that his Business may receive a speedy hearing (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof); that so justice

§ Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 272.)

* Hopton's Surrender, 14th March 1645-6 (Antea, i. 253); a hurried Treaty, which gave rise to much doubting and pleading, in other instances than this.

may be done unto him, and that the faith of the Army may be preserved. I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 23.

MARCH TO WORCESTER.

[Vol. iii. p. 83.]

OLIVER, in his swift March from Scotland towards Worcester, takes Ripon and Doncaster as stages: Provision for us must be "in readiness against our coming."

'*To the Mayor and Corporation of Doncaster: These.*'

GENTLEMEN, Ripon, 18th August 1651.

I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with the Army on Wednesday* night or Thursday morning: and forasmuch as the Soldiers will need a supply of victual, I desire you to give notice to the country, and to use your best endeavours to cause bread, butter, cheese and flesh to be brought in, and to be in readines there against our coming; for which the country shall receive ready money. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest, Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §§

No. 24.

AFTER WORCESTER BATTLE: LETTERS TO THE SPEAKER.

[Vol. iii. p. 93.]

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Evesham, 8th September 1651.

The late most remarkable, seasonable and signal Victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory) was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish Army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration:

§ Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 276.)

* Wednesday is 20th.

§§ Original in the possession of Rudsey Dawson, Esq., Hornby Castle, Lancashire (communicated, 19th October 1850).

That as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in His mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to His people, our Friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the Sequestration or Estates of such as abetted this Engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your Soldier; — which could not at that time possibly be prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed Wife and Children of one William Guise, of the city of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the Enemy for his faithfulness to the Parliament. The man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord; and upon that account likewise deserveth more consideration. Really, Sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly (even to the ruin of their families), by these parts being the seat of the War: and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed-up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the Commissioners of the Militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken herein.

I have sent the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester to Warwick Castle, there to attend the pleasure of Parliament concerning their Trial; I having not opportunity to try them by Court Martial. I have also taken security of the other Aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, That some severity be shown to some of those of this Country, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former War, did now again appear in arms against you.

I rest, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

§ Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 378.)

'To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

SIR, Chipping Norton, 8th September 1651.

I have sent this Bearer, Captain Orpyn, with the Colours taken in the late Fight; — at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of these sent will be about an Hundred; the remainder also being Forty or Fifty, which were taken at the Engagement in Fife.* I ask pardon for troubling you herewith; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

No. 25.

LETTER TO SISTER ELIZABETH.

[Vol. i. p. 20, note; iii. p. 116.]

BY accident, another curious glimpse into the Cromwell family. "Sister Elizabeth," of whom, except the date of her birth and that she died unmarried,** almost nothing is known, comes visibly to light here; "living at Ely," in very truth (as Noble had guessed she did); quietly boarded at some friendly Doctor's there, in the scene and among the people always familiar to her. She is six years older than Oliver; now and then hears from him, we are glad to see, and receives "small tokens of his love" of a substantial kind. For the rest, sad news in this Letter! Son Ireton is dead of fever in Ireland; the tidings reached London just a week ago.

*For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Doctor Richard Stand*** his house at Ely: These.*

DEAR SISTER, 'Cockpit,' 15th December 1651.

I have received divers Letters from you; I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect: my burden is not ordinary, nor are my weaknesses a few to go thorough therewith; but I have hope in a better Strength. — I have herewith sent you Twenty Pounds as a small token of my

* Inverkeithing Fight in July: see Letter CLXXV.
§ Tanner mss. (in Cary, ii. 380). ** Antea, i. 14
*** Query, not *Hand*?

love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory; a clear evidence whereof is my Son Ireton's death. I rest,

Dear Sister,

Your affectionate Brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

P.S.* My Mother, Wife, and your friends here remember their loves.

No. 26.

LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE FOR SEQUESTRATIONS IN BEHALF OF MR. AND MRS. FINCHAM.

[Vol. iii. p. 114.]

THOMAS FINCHAM, Esquire, of Oatwell, Isle of Ely, is on the List of Delinquents: Oliver, as an old friend or at least neighbour, will do what he can for him.

To the Commissioners for Sequestration, at Goldsmiths' Hall: These.

GENTLEMEN, Cockpit, — December 1651.

I formerly recommended unto you the Petition of one Mr. Fincham and his Wife, desiring that if it were in your power to give remedy in their case, you would be pleased to hear them, according to the equity of their case. And forasmuch as they have waited long in Town for a hearing, to their great charge and expenses, which their present condition will not well bear, I again earnestly desire that you will grant them your favour of a speedy hearing of their business, and to relieve them according to the merits and justice of their case: whereby you will very much oblige,

Gentlemen,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §§

§ Original shown me, and copied for me (26th October 1853), by Mr. Puttick, Auctioneer, 191 Piccadilly, — who sold it, with another (Letter to *Dick*, 2d *April* 1650, *Carrick*, our Letter CLXXXII.), next day, "for 9 guineas, to Mr. Holloway, Bedford Street:" the *Dick*, a long letter, in very good keeping, went "for 26 guineas, to Mr. John Young, 6 Size Lane, Bucklersbury." * On the margin.

§§ Composition Papers, in State-Paper Office.

No. 27.

To Oxford and Cambridge.

[Vol. III. p. 122.]

From those nine months of 1652 remain certain other small vestiges or waymarks; relating, as it happens, to the Universities, of one of which Oliver was Chancellor. The first is a Letter to Oxford.

"Greenwood" we have already seen: "Goodwin" is the famed Independent, at this time President of Magdalen College. Of "Zachary Maine," and his wishes and destinies, the reader can find an adequate account in Wood, with express allusion to the Letter which follows.* Zachary's desire was complied-with. A godly young man, from Exeter City; not undeserving such a favour; who lived seven years in profitable communion with Goodwin, Owen and the others; then, at the Restoration, fell into troubles, into waverings; but ended peaceably as Master of the Free school of Exeter, the Mayor and Chamber favouring him there.

1. *To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

Sir, 'Cockpit,' 12th April 1652.

Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, Demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour To be dispensed-with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his Degree of Bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted to the said Degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein.

I remain, Sir,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.§

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* Athenæ, iv. 411.

§ From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

The Second an official Protection to Cambridge:

2. ¶ *To all Officers, Soldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern.*

These are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof: Not to quarter any Officers or Soldiers in any of the Colleges, Halls or other Houses belonging to the University of Cambridge; Nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the Students or Members of any of the Colleges or Houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal, the First of July 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

Note. In the Archives of Trinity College Cambridge is a Patent duly signeted, and superscribed "Oliver P.," of date "Whitehall, 21st October 1654;" appointing Richard Pratt, "who, as we are informed, is very poor and necessitous," a *Bedesman* (small pensioner for life) of that College. Which merely official Piece, as Richard Pratt too, except this of being poor, is without physiognomy for us, we do not insert here.*

The Third and Fourth are for Oxford again:

3. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

Whereas divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor: And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may 'again' happen and arise between them: And considering that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same: And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein:

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vicechancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several

§ Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 452.

* Copy *penes me.*

Colleges and Halls there, or any Five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), To hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have 'arisen,' or shall arise, between any of the said Members; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and equity. And this Power and Commission to continue during the space of Six Months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652. OLIVER CROMWELL.

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4. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

Whereas within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be disposed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal atttendance, in or near London; so that the Scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore, taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said Scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth:

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University; Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them, To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or confirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon

to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any Three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage thereunto.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 28.

LETTER TO LORD WHARTON ABOUT HENRY CROMWELL'S MARRIAGE.

[Vol. iii. p. 86.

"POOR foolish Mall," whom we guessed in the Text to be on a visit at Winchington, was then busy there, it would seem, and is now again busy, on a very important matter: scheme of marriage between her Brother Henry, now in Ireland, and her fair Friend here, Lord Wharton's Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, his eldest, as may be clearly inferred from the genealogies.* The Lord General approves; match most honourable; shall not fail for want of money on his part. Unless, indeed, "the just scruples of the Lady" prove unsurmountable? Which, apparently, they did. Both parties afterwards married: the Lady Elizabeth to "the third Earl Lindsay;" Henry Cromwell a "Russel of Chippenham;" on which latter event, the "Dalby and Broughton," here mentioned, were actually settled upon Henry. Burleigh and Pakham went to his brother Richard.

'*For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These.*'

MY DEAR LORD, 'Cockpit,' 30th June 1652.

Indeed I durst not suddenly make up any judgment what

§ From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

* Lipscomb's History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire (London, 1847), i. 544.

would be fit for me to do or desire, in the Business you know of. But being engaged to give you an account upon our last conference, I shall be bold to do that, and add a word or two therewith.

For the Estate I mentioned, I cannot now (by reason my Steward is not here) be so exact as I would: but the Lands I design for this occasion are Burleigh, Oakham, and two other little things not far distant; in all about 1900*l.* per annum. Moreover Dalby 'and' Broughton, 1600*l.* per annum. Burleigh hath some charge upon it, which will in convenient time be removed. This is near twice as much as I intended my Son: yet all is unworthy of the honourable Person.

My Lord, give me leave to doubt that the Lady hath so many just scruples, which if not very freely reconciled may be too great a tentation to her spirit, and also have after-inconveniences. And although I know your Lordship so really,* yet I believe you may have your share of difficulties to conflict with; which may make the Business uneasy: — wherefore, good my Lord, I beg it, If there be not freedom and cheerfulness in the noble Person, let this Affair slide easily off, and not a word more be spoken about it, — as your Lordship's 'own' thoughts are. So hush all, and save the labour of little Mall's fooling, — lest she incur the loss of a good Friend indeed. My Lord, I write my heart plainly to you, as becomes, my Lord,

Your most affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 29.

SCRAPS FROM 1653.

[Vol. iii. p. 181.]

1. In a volume of the *Annual Register* are given certain Letters or Petitions concerning the printing of Dr. Walton's Polyglott Bible. At the end of the Petitions is the following:

'Whitehall,' 16th May 1653.

I THINK fit that this work of printing the Bible in the Ori-

* "reallilye" *in orig.*

§ Original in Bodleian Library; endorsed by Lord Wharton, "My Lord Generall to mee about his Sonne." Printed in *Illustrated London News*, 7th November 1856.

ginal and other Languages go on without any let or interruption. OLIVER CROMWELL. §

"By favour of whose Government," as Walton in his Preface furthermore records, "we had our paper free of duty, *quorum favore chartam a vectigalibus immunem habuimus*," — with perhaps other furtherances. See Irwell's Life of Pocock (reprint. London, 1816), pp. 209-211.

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2. Here, lest any one should be again sent hunting through "Pegge's Manuscripts," take the following highly insignificant Official Note. Date, four weeks after the Dismissal of the Rump; when the "Committee of the Army," and Oliver "Commander of all the Forces raised and to be raised," are naturally desirous to know the state of the Army-Accounts. Where Mitchell commands at present, I do not know; nor whether he might be the "Captain Mitchell" who was known some years ago in a disagreeable transaction with the Lord-General's Secretary,* and whose Accounts may be rather specially a matter of interest.

For Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell.

SIR, Whitehall, 18th May 1653.

You are desired with all expedition to prepare and send to the Committee for the Army an Account of all Moneys by you received upon their Warrants between the Fifteenth of January 1647 and the Twentieth of October 1651, for the use of the Forces within the time aforesaid under your command, or for the use of any other Regiment, Troop or Company, by or for whom you were entrusted or appointed to receive any money.

And in case you cannot perfect your Account, and send the same, as you are hereby directed, before the Seventh of June next, you are desired by that time at the farthest to send in writing under your hand to the said Committee, What Moneys by you received as foresaid do remain in your hands.

Hereof you are not to fail,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §§

§ Annual Register, xxxvi. 373-4.

* Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 61), 22d-29th June 1649.

§§ Pegge's MSS. (in the College of Arms, London), vii. 425.

3. Among the State-Papers in Paris there have lately been found Three small Notes to Mazarin, not of much, if indeed of almost any moment, but worth preserving since they are here. Two of them belong to this Section. The first, which exists only in French, apparently as translated for Mazarin's reading, would not be wholly without significance if we had it in the original. It is dated just three days after that Summons to the Puritan Notables;* — and the Lord General, we see, struggles to look upon himself as a man that has done with Political Affairs.

'*A Son Eminence, Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin.*'

MONSIEUR, *De Westminster, ce 9-19 Juin* 1653.

J'ai été surpris de voir que votre Eminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque façon rétiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi, que je me sens obligé de servir votre Eminence en toutes occasions; et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est,

Monsieur,

De votre Eminence

Le très-humble serviteur,

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

Of which take this Version:

"Westminster, 9th June 1653.

"SIR, — I have been surprised that your Eminency was "pleased to remember a person so inconsiderable as myself, "living as it were withdrawn from the rest of the world. This "honour has justly such a resentment with me that I feel myself "bound, by all opportunities, to be serviceable to your Eminen- "cy; and as I shall be happy to meet with such, so I hope M. de "Bourdeaux," the Ambassador, "will help to procure them to,

"Sir,

"Your Eminency's most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Nay here now (*Edition* 1857) is the Original itself; politely forwarded to me, three years ago, by the Translator of M.

* Antea, vol. iii. p. 139.

§ From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. *Communicated* by Thomas Wright, Esq. F. S. A. &c.

Guizot's *English Commonwealth*, where doubtless it has since appeared in print:

Westminster, the 9th of June 1653.

IT'S surprise to me that your Eminency should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, separate from the world. This honour has, as it ought, 'made' a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige 'me' to serve your Eminency upon all occasions: and as I shall be happy to find out 'such,' so I trust that very honourable person, Monsieur Burdoe, will therein be helpful to,

Your Eminency's thrice-humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

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4. The negotiations with Whitlocke for going on that perilous Embassy to Sweden have left for us the following off hand specimen of an Official Note from Oliver. Oliver and Pickering had already been earnestly dealing with the learned man that he would go: at their subsequent interview, Oliver observed to Whitlocke, "Sir Gilbert" Pickering "would needs write a very fine Letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that to you:"

'To Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal.'

MY LORD, Whitehall, 2d September 1653.

The Council of State having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Swedeland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto. Wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment. To which we begging your answer, do rest,

My Lord,

Your humble servants,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

GILBERT PICKERING. §

§ From Whitlocke's Account of his Embassy (quoted in Forster, iv. 319).

5. The Little Parliament has now dismissed itself, and Oliver has henceforth a new Signature.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'

MY LORD, 'Whitehall,' 26th January 1653.

Monsieur de Baas* hath delivered me the Letter which your Eminency hath been pleased to write to me; and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affairs of these Nations as now constituted. Which I esteem a very great honour; and hold myself obliged, upon the return of this Gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your Eminency for so singular a favour; my just resentment whereof I shall upon all occasions really demonstrate; and be ready to express the great value I have of your person and merits, as your affairs and interest shall require from,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

OLIVER P.§

6. "The Corporation of Lynn Regis," it appears, considered that the navigation of their Port would be injured by the works now going on for Draining the great Bedford Level of the Fens. They addressed the Protector on the subject; and this is his Letter in answer thereto. Nothing came of it farther.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn Regis.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 30th January 1653.

I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects; — assuring you that I shall be always ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation. — Commending you to the grace of God, I remain,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.§§

* The new Envoy, or Agent; of whom in the next No.

§ From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F. S. A. &c.

§§ History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge (London, fol. 1766), p. 55.

No. 30.

From 1654-1655: VOWEL'S PLOT; RECTORY OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST; PENRUDDOCK'S PLOT; NEW ENGLAND.

[Vol. iii. p. 206.]

1. Another wholly insignificant Official Note to Mazarin, in regard to Vowel's Plot, and the dismissal of M. De Baas for his complicity in it. De Baas, whom some call Le Baas, or rightly Le Bas, was a kind of subsidiary Agent despatched by Mazarin early in the Spring of 1653-4 "to congratulate the new Protector," — that is, to assist Bourdeaux, who soon after got the regular title of Ambassador, in ascertaining how a Treaty could be made with the new Protector, or, on the whole, what was to be done with England and him. Hitherto, during the Dutch War and other vicissitudes, there had been a mixed undefinable relation between the two Countries, rather hostile than neutral. The "Treaty and firm Amity," as we know, had its difficulties, its delays; in the course of which it occurred to M. Le Bas that perhaps the Restoration of Charles Stuart, by Vowel and Company, might be a shorter cut to the result. Examination of Witnesses, in consequence: examination of Le Bas himself by the Protector and Council, in consequence; mild hint to Le Bas that he must immediately go home again.*

'*Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino.*'

EMINENTISSIME CARDINALIS,

In Litteris Nostris ad Regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus quare Dominum De Baas ex hâc Republicâ excedere jussimus, et Majestatem Suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hâc dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpam ei solummodo imputamus, in eâdem adhuc sententiâ perstare, firmam arctamque Pacem et Amicitiam cum Galliâ colendi et paciscendi. Atque hâc occasione gratum nobis est priora illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare; quam etiam, datâ subinde occasione, palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea Eminentiam vestram Divinæ benignitati præsidio commendamus.

Dab. ex Albâ Aulâ, vicesimo nono Junii an. 1654.

OLIVERIUS P.§

* Depositions concerning him (April, May, 1654), Thurloe, ii. 309, 351-3: notice of his first arrival (February 1653-4), ib. 113. See also ib. 379, 437.

§ From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F. S. A. &c.

Of which, if it be worth translation, this is the English:

"MOST EMINENT CARDINAL, — In our Letter to the King "we have set forth the grounds and occasions moving us to "order M. De Baas to depart from this Commonwealth; and "have assured his Majesty, that notwithstanding this deceit of "the said De Baas, the blame of which is imputed to him alone, "we persist as heretofore in the same purpose of endeavouring "and obtaining a firm and intimate Peace and Amity with "France. And it gives us pleasure, on this occasion, to renew "those former testimonies of our good inclination towards you "and your interests; which also, as opportunity offers, we shall "in future be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In "the mean while, we commend your Eminency to the keeping of "the Almighty.

"OLIVER P."

"Whitehall, 29th June 1654."

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2. PRESENTATION TO THE RECTORY OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST.

"*Communicated to me*" (Thomas Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary), "*by my "worthy friend Brown Willis Esq., of Whaddon Hall in Com. Bucks, from "the original Presentation in the hands of a friend of his.*"

OLIVER P.

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to the Commissioners authorised by a late Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers, or "to" any five of them, greeting. We present John Pointer to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest in the county of Beldford, void by the death of the late Incumbent, and to our presentation belonging; to the end he may be approved of by them, and admitted thereunto, with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance.

Given at Whitehall, the 29th of September 1654. †

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3. DESIGN AGAINST THE SPANISH WEST INDIENS.

[Vol. iii. pp. 274, 323.]

OUR great Design against the Spaniards in the West Indies is still called only "a Design by Sea," and kept very secret.

§ Harl. mss. no. 7058, f.153.

Proper, however, as the rumours probably are loud, to give the Parliament, now sitting, some hint of it. Hence this Letter; of no moment otherwise. Unluckily "the right-hand border of the Paper is now much worn away;" so that several words are wanting, — conjecturally supplied here, *in italics*.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER, Whitehall, 22d September 1654.

I have, by advice of the Council, undertaken a Design by Sea, very much (as we hope and judge) for the honour and advantage of the Commonwealth; and have already made the preparations requisite for such an undertaking. But before I proceed to the execution thereof, the Parliament being now convened, I thought it agreeable to my trust to communicate to them the aforesaid resolution, and not to desire the delay thereof any longer (although I suppose you may be engaged, at the present, in matters of greater weight); because many *miscarriages* will fall out in this Business through delay, as well in *providing* of the charge as otherwise; the well-timing of such a *Design* being as considerable as anything about it. And *therefore I* desire you to take your first opportunity to acquaint *the House* with the contents of this Letter, wherein I have *forborne* to be more particular, because there are several *persons* in Parliament who know this whole Business, and *can inform* the House of all particulars, if the House do judge *it to be* consistent with the nature of the Design to have it *offered* to them particularly: — which I refer to their consideration; and rest, Your assured friend, OLIVER P.§

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4. NEW APPOINTMENTS; ANNOUNCEMENT OF THEM TO THE PARLIAMENT.

OLIVER P.

To Our right trusty and right well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED,

We greet you well. It being expressed in the Thirty-fourth

§ "Autograph Letter throughout." Copy *penes me;* reference (Tanner MSS. no doubt) is unfortunately lost. — See Commons Journals, vii. 369 (22d September 1654), for the Return made.

Article of the Government, That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the approbation of the major part of the Council, — to be afterwards approved by the Parliament; and several Persons of integrity and ability having been appointed by Me (with the Council's approbation) for some of those Services before the meeting of the Parliament; — I have thought it necessary to transmit unto you, in the enclosed Schedule, the names of those Persons, to the end that the resolution of the Parliament may be known concerning them: which I desire may be with such speed as the other public occasions of the Commonwealth will admit. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this Fifth day of October 1654.§

Enclosure is endorsed: "The Schedule inclosed in his Highnes Letter of ye 5th of October 1654." — "Read October 5th, 1654; and again, 6th Oct."

Charles Fleetwood, Esquire . . .	Deputy of Ireland.
Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esquire .	Commissioners of the Great Seal of England.
Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt. .	
John Lisle, Esquire	
The Three Commissioners of the Great Seal above-named	Commissioners of the Treasury.
The Lord Chief Justice Rolle .	
The Lord Chief Justice St. John	
Edward Montague, Esquire . . .	
William Sydenham, Esquire . . .	
Henry Rolle	Chief Justice of the Court of Upper Bench.
Oliver St. John	Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

5 and 6. The following Two Letters, one of which is clearly of Thurloe's composition, have an evident reference to Penruddock's affair; they find their place here.

§ Original, with the Great Seal attached, in Tanner mss., lii. 135. — See Commons Journals, vii. 378 (24th October 1654).

Sergeant Wilde, now more properly Lord Chief Baron Wilde is a Worcester man; sat in the Long Parliament for that City, very prominent all along in Law difficulties and officialities, — in particular, directly on the heel of the Second Civil War, Autumn 1648, he rode circuit, and did justice on offenders, without asking his Majesty's opinion on the subjects; which was thought a great feat on his part.* Shortly after which he was made Chief Baron, and so continues, — holding even now the Spring Assizes at Worcester, I think. Thurloe, as we said, appears to have shaped this Letter into words; only the signature and meaning can be taken as Oliver's. Unluckily too, either Mrs. Warner the Editress must have misread the date "25th" for 24th, or else Thurlue himself in his haste have miswritten, forgetting that it was New Year's Day overnight, that it is not now 1654 but 1655. We will take the former hypothesis; and correct Mrs. Warner's "25th," which in this case makes a whole year of difference.

For Sir John Wilde, Sergeant-at-Law, and the rest of the Justices of Peace for the County of Worcester, or any of them, to be communicated to the rest; or, in his absence, to Nicholas Lechmere, Esq., Worcester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the hand of God going along with us, in defeating the late rebellions Insurrection. And we hope that, through His blessing upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design. Yet knowing the resolution of the common Enemy to involve this Nation in new calamities, we conceive ourselves, and all others entrusted with preserving the peace of the Nation, obliged to endeavour in their places to prevent and defeat the Enemy's intentions: and therefore, as a measure especially conducing to that end,

We do earnestly recommend to you To take order that diligent Watches (such as the Law hath appointed) be daily kept, for taking a strict account of all strangers in the Country. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons; but may probably cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and

* Thanked by the Parliament (Commons Journals, vi. 49, 19th October 1648).

seized-upon, especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account of their business; — and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. Herein we do require, and shall expect, your effectual endeavours; knowing that, if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in their bud, or kept from growing to a maturity. I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.§

This second Letter, to the Gloucester Authorities, on the same subject, we judge by the style of it to be mostly or altogether the Protector's own.

For Major Wade, Major Creed, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Gloucester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection; so that, as we have certain intelligence from all parts, the Risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured. And we hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design.

The readiness of the Honest People to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the Enemy; who, had he prevailed, would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harassed Nation in the world. And therefore we hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeal and forwardness in so readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your Country and your own particular as to outward and in-

§ Rebecca Warner's Epistolary Curiosities: First Series (Bath, 1818), *pp.* 51-3.

ward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general Principle respecting the glory of God, and the good of all these Nations, hath been the motive to incite you: and therefore your account* goes upon the higher and more noble account.**

You have desired that we would consider of ways how to find money to carry-on this work. If the Business had not been allayed, we *must* have found out a way and means to allay that want. But otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our design to ease this Nation, and not to burden it; and are tender, — as we conceive yourselves have been, — of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge. And therefore, as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing Countrymen, as we hereby do to yourselves, for this their forwardness; and let them know That when any danger shall approach, as we shall be watchful to observe the Enemy's stirrings, we will give you timely notice thereof: and we trust those good hearts will be ready, 'on' being called out by you, to appear upon all such occasions. In the mean time they may continue at their homes, blessing God for His mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, and the other benefits of Peace.

And I do hereby let you know that Letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of several Counties,** That Watches be kept, such as the Law hath appointed for taking a strict account of all strangers, especially near the Coast. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad 'in order' to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized, — especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the continuance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity.

* Sic. ** Foregoing Letter, To Wilde, for one.

Having said this, — with remembrance of my hearty love to you, I rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.§

Of the same date, the same Letter (with insignificant variations), bearing the address, *For Colonel Humphrey Brewster and the rest of the Commissioners for the Militia for the County of Suffolk*, and dated as well as signed in Oliver's hand, is now in the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge, a kinsman or representative of this Humphrey Brewster.

The one considerable variation is as follows. Paragraph second, of the Copy given here, and the first two sentences of paragraph third, are suppressed in Brewster's Copy, and there stands instead, — after "Design:" "And now forasmuch as it "hath pleased God thus to allay this Business; and making it, "as we hope we soon (*sic*) shall, our design to ease this Na- "tion:" &c. — after and before which the two Copies almost exactly correspond. (MS. *penes me.*)

By the City Records just cited from, it appears that, on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, "Eighteen Gloucester "Bakers had sent to Tewkesbury for the Lord General Crom- "well's Army, Thirteen-hundred and odd Dozens of Bread at a "Shilling the dozen, amounting to £66. 5*s.*; and that the Mayor "and others, on the 1st September 1651, sent Forty barrels of "strong Beer to the Lord General, 'praying your favourable ac- "ceptance thereof, as an argument of the good affection of this "Corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable coming "into these parts, for the relief thereof against the violence of "the common Enemy, and wish prosperous success to you and "your Army.'"*

Furthermore, that on the 11th October 1651, directly after the said Battle, Gloucester did itself the honour of appointing the Lord General Oliver Cromwell, "in consideration of the singular favour and benevolence which his Excellency hath manifested to us and to this City," High Steward of the same, "with an annual rent of 100 shillings, issuing out of our Manors;" —

§ Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis (Gloucester, 1825; — see antea, vol. i. p. 163), p. 412; — from the City Records of Gloucester.

* *Ib. p. 406.*

for at least one payment of which there exists the Lord General's receipt, in this form:

23 Novemb 1652

	£	s.	d.
Recd of the Maior and Burg[s] of Glouc[r] by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year above[s] the some of ffive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord High Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd	05	00	00

O. CROMWELL. §

7. and 8. Two poor American scraps, which our New-England friends ought to make more lucent for us; worth their paper and ink in this place.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England.

GENTLEMEN, 'Whitehall,' 29th March 1655.

Your Agent here hath presented unto us some particulars concerning your Government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity.

In the mean while we were willing to let you know, That you are to proceed in your Government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of these Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a jus and fitting determination.

And so we bid you farewell; and rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P. §§

§ Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis (Gloucester. 1825: — p. 411.)

§§ Original in the Rhode-Island Archives: Printed in Hutchinson's *Collection*, and elsewhere.

Towards the end of the Dutch War, during that undefinable relation with France, "hostile rather than neutral," which did not end in Treaty till October 1655,* Oliver's Major Sedgwick, whom we have since known in Jamaica, had laid hold of certain "French Forts," and indeed of a whole French region, the region now called *Nova Scotia*, then called *Acadie;* of which Forts and of the region they command, it is Oliver's purpose, for the behoof of his New-Englanders, to retain possession;** — as the following small document will testify:

To Captain John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America.

We have received an account from Major Sedgwick of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: And although We make no doubt of your fidelity and diligence in performance of your trust, yet We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into Our hands to the advantage of Us and this State, by such ways and means as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as We shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, We shall from time to time give such directions as shall be necessary.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d of April 1655.

OLIVER P.§

To which there are now, from this side of the Water, the following small excerpts to be added:

* Thurloe, iv. 75.

** In Bancroft's *History of the United States* (Boston, 1857), i. 445, is some faint and not very exact notice of the affair.

§ Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Printed in their *Third Series*, vii. 121. — — In Vol. ii. of the same Work (Boston, 1820), pp. 323-364, is an elaborate Notice of certain fragmentary MS. *Records of the Long Parliament* still extant at New York, — which Notice ought to be cancelled in subsequent editions! The amazingly curious "Records" at New York turn out to be nothing but some odd volumes of the *Commons Journals* of that period; the entire Set of which, often enough copied in *manuscript*, was *printed* here about fifty years ago, and is very common indeed, in the Buttershops and elsewhere.

Grant of Privy Seal: "6th June 1655, To Major Robert Sedg-"wick, £1,793. 7*s.* 8*d.*, in full of his Account for service done "against the French." And

Ditto, "28th July 1656, to Captain John Leverett, £4,482. "8*s.* 11½*d.*, in full satisfaction of all sums of money due to him "upon Account of his receipt and disbursements about the "Forts taken from the French in America, and of his Salary for "760 days, at 15*s. per diem*."*

Oliver kept his Forts and his *Acadie*, through all French Treaties, for behoof of his New-Englanders: not till after the Restoration did the country become French again, and continue such for a century or so.

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9. Is a small domestic matter:

For Colonel Alban Cox, in Hertfordshire.

SIR, Whitehall, 24th April 1655.

Having occasion to speak with you upon some Affairs relating to the Public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair up hither; and upon your coming, you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you.

I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

At Blackdown House in Sussex, now and for long past the residence of a family named Yaldwin, are preserved two Letters Patent signed "Oliver P.," of date 3d December 1656, appointing "William Yaldwin Esq." High Sheriff of Sussex. Printed in Dallaway's *Rape of Arundel* (p. 363); need not be reprinted here.

No. 31.

[Vol. iii. p. 343.]

SUFFOLK YEOMANRY.

THE Suffolk Commission for a select mounted County-Militia, still remains; one remaining out of many that have perished.

* Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper [of the Public Records (London, 1843), Appendix ii. p. 192; Fifth Report (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 260.
§ Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1788), lviii. 379.

Addressed to the Humphrey Brewster whom we have occasionally met with before.*

Instructions unto Colonel Humphrey Brewster, commissionated by his Highness the Lord Protector to be Captain of a Troop of Horse to be raised within the County of Suffolk, for the service of his Highness and the Commonwealth.

1. You shall forthwith raise, enlist, and have in readiness under your command as Captain, and such Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master as his Highness shall commissionate for that purpose, One-hundred able Soldiers, the three Corporals included, well mounted for service, and armed with one good sword and case of pistols, holsters, saddle, bridle, and other furniture fit for war, to serve as a Troop of Horse in the service of the Commonwealth, as is hereafter required.

2. You shall use your utmost endeavour that the said Troops shall be men of good life and conversation; and before their being listed shall promise that they will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, against all who shall design or attempt any thing against his Highness's Person, or endeavour to disturb the public Peace. And the like engagement shall be taken by the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master of the said Troop.

3. You shall be ready to draw forth and muster the said Troop, armed and fitted as aforesaid, upon the 25th day of December next ensuing, from which time the said Troop, Officers and Soldiers, shall be deemed to be in the actual service of his Highness and the Commonwealth, and be paid accordingly. And you shall also draw forth the said Troops four times in every year within the county of Suffolk, completely furnished as before mentioned, to be raised and mustered by such persons as shall from time to time be appointed by the Protector.

4. You shall also at all other times have the said Troops in all readiness as aforesaid at forty-eight hours' warning, or sooner if it may be, whensoever his Highness, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, shall require the same for the suppressing of any invasion, rebellion, insurrection, or tumult,

* Antea, vol. iv. p. 384.

or performing of any other service within England and Wales. And in case that any of the said service shall continue above the space of Twenty-eight days in one year, the said Officers and Soldiers shall, after the expiration of the said Twenty-eight days, be paid according to the establishment of the Army then in force, over and besides what is agreed to be paid unto them by these presents, for so long as they shall continue in the said service.

5. That in case any shall make default in appearance, without just and sufficient cause, or shall not be mounted, armed and provided as afore-said, or shall offend against good manners or the laws of war; that every person so offending shall be liable to such punishment as the Captain or chief Officer present with the Troops, with advice of the persons appointed to take the said musters, shall think fit: provided the said punishment extends no further than loss of place or one year's pay.

6. That in consideration of the service to be performed as aforesaid, you shall receive for the use of the said Troop the sum of One-thousand pounds per annum, to be paid out of the public revenue by quarterly payments, to be distributed according to the proportions following: To yourself, as Captain, one-hundred pounds per annum; to the Lieutenant fifty pounds per annum; to the Quarter-Master thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence per annum; to each of the three Corporals, two pounds 'additional' per annum; one Trumpet, five pounds six shillings and four-pence per annum; and to each Soldier eight pounds per annum.

Whitehall, 26th October 1655. OLIVER P.§

No. 32.

TITLE OF KING ERASED. SPEECH SHOULD-BE 'XV.'

[Vol. iv. p. 134.]

FINAL Speech on that matter of the Kingship (concerning *which* it is gracefully altogether silent); that is to say, Speech on *accepting* the Humble Petition and Advice, with the Title of

§ In the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge; a descendant of Brewster's.

King withdrawn, and that of Protector substituted as he had required: Painted Chamber, Monday, 25th May 1657.*

Mr. Speaker, — I desire to offer a word or two unto you; which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of a human creature. And I make no question but you will, and so will all men, readily agree with me that without the support of the Almighty I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it; not only with shame and reproach to myself, but with that that is more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned, — with the loss and prejudice of these Three Nations. And, that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear God, that by their prayers I may receive assistance from the hand of God. His presence, going along, will enable to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is; and nothing else 'will.'

Howbeit, I have some other things to desire you, I mean of the Parliament: — That seeing this is but, as it were, an introduction to the carrying-on of the government of these Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things which cannot be supplied, for the enabling to the carrying-on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted; for I believe the same spirit that hath led you to this will easily suggest the rest to you. The truth is, and I can say 'it' in the presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this insupportable burden to flesh and blood, had it not been that I have seen in this Parliament all along a care of doing all those things that might truly and really answer the ends that have been engaged: for you have satisfied** your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already.

I thought it my duty, when your Committee which you

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 599, 587 (last entry there).
** *Query*, testified?

were pleased to send to me to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings to help my conscience and judgment, — I was then bold to offer to them several considerations: which were received by them, and have been presented to you. In answer to which, the Committee did bring several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired; and therefore, though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed, as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me, howsoever desirable great places may seem to be to other men; I say, nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this; but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you as makes clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the liberty and interest and preservation of all such as fear God, — of all that fear God under various forms. And if God make not these Nations thankful to you for your care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads. And therefore I say, that hath been one main encouragement.

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men and virtue, and the completing of those things also, — concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything; save to let me know by your Committee that you would not be wanting in anything for the good of these Nations. Nor do I speak it as in the least doubting it; but I do earnestly and heartily desire, to the end God may crown your work and bless you and this Government, that in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided-for.§

§ Commons Journals, vii. 439-40.

No. 33.

From 1657. LAST ROYALIST PLOT.

[Vol. iii. p. 353.]

1. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford.*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is entrusted to us, we do look upon the Universities as meriting very much of our care and thoughts: And finding that the place of Chancellor of our University of Oxford is at present in Ourself; and withal judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs, —

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof.

Our will and pleasure therefore is, That you do proceed to the election of a Chancellor with your first conveniency. Not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of Piety and Learning, and to the continuing and further settling of good Order and Government amongst you; which you may easily find yourselves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July 1657.§

§ Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. *Bliss.*

2. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestry: These.*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved, — We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a Head Schoolmaster settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late Schoolmaster thereof.

Have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans late of Penegos in the County of Montgomery, as as fit person, both for piety and learning, to be Head Schoolmaster of the said School; and That, so far as in yourselves "is," the said Mr. Evans may be forthwith settled and invested there accordingly.

Which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God.

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July 1657.§

3. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester: These.*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved, — We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby,

To put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of your Commissioners formerly sent to you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid. Letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town.

§ *Endowed Grammar Schools*, by N. Carlisle (London, 1818), ii. 369, Art. *Salop*.

We desire you to let us hear from you from time to time what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this 2d of December 1657. §

A Paper of the same date, of precisely the same purport, directed to the Authorities at Bristol, has come to us; another out of many then sent: but of course only one, if even one, requires to be inserted here.

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4. Letter written directly on dissolving the Parliament; probably one of many, to the like effect, despatched that day:

For Colonel Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford; These. For our special service.

To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albans: to be speedily sent.

SIR, Whitehall, 4th February 1657.

By our last Letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier Party (who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad); — and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons.

Our intelligence of that kind still continues. And we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; "they" being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unquiet spirits, as well in this Town as elsewhere, who, to frustrate and render vain and fruitless all those good hopes of Settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their Adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable Petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;" designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late *Petition and Advice* of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years; hoping thereby to bring all things into con-

§ *City Records of Gloucester* (in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 419.

fusion; — and were in a very tumultuous manner procuring subscriptions thereunto, giving out that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the House of Commons.

And the truth is, the Debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had a tendency to the stirring-up and cherishing such humours; — having done nothing in fourteen days but debate Whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the *Petition and Advice*, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto; they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House. And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the bonds of Government; and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of Money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation, from such men as are not satisfied with the Foundation we stand upon, — thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament; — which I have done this day: — And to give you notice thereof; that you, with your Troop, may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable Petition, that you apprehend them; and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do further let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and Troop; and do assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And so I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.§

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5. *For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester: These.*

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 11th March 1657.

We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose Twenty-two Ships of War ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are pre-

§ Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1786), lvi. 93.

paring others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be put on board them. And at the same time an Insurrection is intended in this Nation. And the time for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, That you put yourselves into the best posture you can for the securing the City of Gloucester, and put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth. We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this Letter.

I rest,

Your very assured friend,

OLIVER P.§

No. 34.

[Vol. iii. p. 365.]

TWO MANDATES TO CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

1. That John Castle be made Master of Arts:

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — Whereas by our appointment several Students in our University of Cambridge have been invited abroad to preach the Gospel in our Fleet, and for their encouragement have been by us assured that they should not suffer any prejudice in the University by reason of their absence in the said service: And whereas a petition hath been exhibited on the behalf of Mr. John Castle of Trinity College, showing that whilst he was abroad as Minister in the Newcastle Frigate, he was disappointed of taking his degree of Master of Arts (as by course he ought), and that he cannot now, since his return, commence without the loss of one year's

§ City Records of Gloucester (in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 421).

seniority, by reason of a statute of the University denying degrees to any non-resident:

In performance of our said promise, and for the future encouragement of others in the like service, We do hereby signify unto you, That it is our will and pleasure that the said John Castle be by you created Master of Arts, and allowed the same seniority which, according to the custom of your University, he had enjoyed had he been resident at the usual time of taking degrees.

Given at Whitehall, the 22d day of June 1658.§

Castle, the Books indicate, had entered Trinity at the same time, and been under the same Tutor, with a very famous person, "*John Driden Northampt. admissus Pens.*" — both, namely, were admitted, "Pensioners," in Sept. 1649.

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2. That Benjamin Rogers be made Bachelor of Music, — "a Form Oliver Cromwell's Mandats," says Baker, who has excerpted this one.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge.

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved, — We greet you well. Whereas we are informed that you cannot, by the statutes and according to the customs of your University, admit any to the degree of Bachelor of Music unless he had some years before "been" admitted in a college: And whereas we are also certified that Benjamin Rogers hath attained to eminency and skill in that faculty: — We, willing to give all encouragement to the studies and abilities of men in that or any other ingenuous faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and pleasure, by these our letters, that, notwithstanding your statutes and customs, you cause Benjamin Rogers to be admitted and created Bachelor in Music, in some one or more of your con-

§ Cambridge Archives, "Grace-Book H. p. 181." Communicated by Rev. J. Edleston, Fellow of Trinity College.

gregations assembled in that our University; he paying such dues as are belonging to that degree, and giving some proof of his accomplishments and skill in music. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall, the 28th day of May 1658.§

§ Copy in Harl. MSS. no. 7053, f. 152 (Baker MSS. x. 373); — and as before, in "Grace-Book H. p. 180." — — The Originals will never turn up. In the same Register of "Graces," or Decrees of Senate, is one (of date 1661) for *burning* whatsoever Mandates or Missives there are from Cromwell; whereby doubtless the Originals (whith small damage to *them*, and some satisfaction to the Heads of Houses) were destroyed.

INDEX.

Abbot, Colonel, in Ireland, ii. 211, 279.

Aberdeen Provost, at Dunbar fight, ii. 333. *See* Jaffray.

Alablaster, Dr., preaches Popery, i. 63.

Allen, Trooper, examined, i. 273; — Ludlow's mistake concerning, iii. 276.

Allen, Adjutant-General, his account of Prayer-Meeting at Windsor, i. 321-325; — disturbances by, iii. 276-279.

Allertoun House, Cromwell at, iii. 63-65.

Alured, Thomas, M. P., letter by, i. 58.

Alured, Col. Matthew, captures Scots Committee, iii. 98; Anabaptist, cashiered, 201-204; Cromwell's letter to, 203.

Alured, Col. John, King's Judge, iii. 204.

Alyth, Scots Committee extinguished at, iii. 98.

Amps, Mr. Thomas, plotting at his house, iii. 194.

Anabaptists favoured by Cromwell, i. 216, 217.

Antichrist, ii. 237; — designated by Cromwell, iii. 217, 219; Magistracy considered Antichristian, 218; Spain, 346, 381.

Apprentices, riots of, i. 114, 118, 284, 320.

Ardes, Lord of, assists Ormond, ii. 170; at Wexford, 190; at Ross, 193.

Argyle, Marquis, dines with Cromwell, ii. 74; Cromwell's letter to, 52; — his party in 1650, iii. 2.

Arklow, skirmish at, ii. 207.

Armstrong, Sir Thomas, notice of, ii. 207.

Army, King's and Parliament's, i. 119, 120; of Parliament in 1643, 146, 162, 163; New Model, 194, 218; motions of in 1645, 233; too near London, 266; against Parliament, 267, 268; state of in 1647, 270, 271; at Saffron Walden, 272, and *App. C.* iv. 336-339; Agitators in, i. 273, 274; will not disband, 275; Rendezvous at Newmarket, 275; at Royston, 276; comes to St. Albans, 277; Manifesto and claims of, 278; Declaration against, expunged, 284; advances to London, 285; enters London, 286; Prayer-Meeting

at Windsor Castle, 322, 323; — against Treaty with Charles I., ii. 82, 87; Remonstrance, 88; at Windsor, 89; in London, St. James's, &c., 98.
Army, equipments of, in 1651, iii. 73.
Arnald. *See* Levellers.
Array, Commission of, i. 120, 121; — *see* St. Albans; in Eastern Association, 132.
Artists in 1651, iii. 42-44.
Arundel, John, Cromwell's letter in behalf of, *App. C.* iv. 361.
Ascham, Anthony, slain in Spain, iii. 380, 395.
Ashburnham, Mr., notice of, iii. 208.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, fortified, i. 143.
Ashe, John, M. P., notice of, ii. 83, 86, 87; Cromwell's letter to, 83.
Ashton, Col., at Preston, ii. 30.
Ashton, Sir Arthur, Governor of Tredah, ii. 165; killed, 169.
Assembly, General, answer Cromwell, ii. 308; his letter to, 309, not allowed to sit, iii. 99. *See Divines.*
Associated Counties, origin of, i. 124, 136; raise an Army, 163.
Astley, Sir Bernard, taken, i. 226.
Astley, Sir Jacob, last of royalist generals, i. 245.
Axtel, Col., regicide, iii. 277.
Aylesbury, Rupert at, i. 138.
Ayr Citadel built by Cromwell, iii. 100.
Ayscough, Sir George, notice of, ii. 153, 154; — iii. 180; his house like a ship at sea, 387.
Augustin, Mosstrooper, iii. 11, 38-40.

Baas, M. de, intriguer, *App. C.* iv. 377.
Bacon, Nathaniel, author of Burton's Diary, iv. 18 *n.*
Baillie, Robert, on Scots Demands, i 106, 107; Apprentices in Palaceyard, 114; — flies from Glasgow, iii. 6; is at Ferth, 17; sees Cromwell in Glasgow, 62.
Baillie, General, at Preston fight, ii. 17, 22; perplexed, 27; surrenders, 27, 34.
Balder, Allegory of, i. 11.
Baltimore, Lord, and Maryland, iii. 274.
Bamfield, Col., spy, i. 262; — iv. 4.
Banks, Mr., on Cromwell, i. 17.
Bannockburn, Cromwell at, iii. 72.
Barbadoes, delinquents sent to, iii. 317.
Barbarous nations, records of, i. 5.
Barbone, Mr. Praisegod, account of, iii. 141.
Barebones's Parliament, iii. 142, 178.
Barclay of Urie, Scotch Quaker, iii. 36.

Barkstead, Col., a Major-General, iii. 341 *n.*, 405 *n.*
Barlow, Mrs., and Charles II., ii. 191.
Barnard, Robert, Justice of Peace, i. 66, 125; his descendants, 126; Cromwell's letters to, 125, 141.
Barnet, Col., Wogan at, ii. 220.
Barton, Col., in Scotland, iii. 80.
Basing House described, i. 235; taken, 236-241.
Bastwick, Dr. John, in pillory, i. 93; — his Widow provided for, iv. 134.
Bates, Dr., sent to Cromwell in Scotland, iii. 67.
Battles: Edgehill, 23d Oct. 1642, i. 124; Grantham, 13th May 1643, 145, 146; Newbury (first), 20th Sept. 1643, 164; Winceby, 11th Oct. 1643, 175; Marston Moor, 2d July 1644, 186; Cropredy, 30th June 1644, 194; Newbury (second), 27th Oct. 1644, 195; Naseby, 14th June 1645, 212, and *App. C.* iv. 328-331; Langport, July 1645, *App. C.* iv. 333; — Preston, 17th Aug. 1648, ii. 16, and *App. C.* iv. 343; — Dunbar, 3d Sept. 1650, ii. 326-342, and *App. C.* iv. 358; Worcester, 3d Sept. 1651, iii. 87-95.
Baxter, Richard, opinion of Edgehill battle, i. 124; — unfriendly to Cromwell, iii. 198.
Beacham, Margery, case of, iii. 332, 333.
Beard, Dr., schoolmaster, i. 34, 63, 66.
Bedford, Earl, chief of Puritans, i. 112; General of Parliament horse, 123.
Bedford, Level, i. 96; — iii. 138.
Bennet, Richard Cromwell's letter to, iii. 274.
Berkley, Sir John, tutor to Duke of York, iv. 4.
Berners's, Lord, ancestor, i. 249.
Berney, Sir Richard, fined. i. 135.
Berry, Captain, slays General Cavendish, *App. C.* iv. 321, 324; Major, at Preston fight, ii. 27; 200*l.* voted to, 37; — Colonel, a Major-General, iii. 341 *n.* —, in favour of Kingship, iv. 133.
Berwick summoned by Cromwell, ii. 51, 55.
Bethel, Major, at Bristol siege, i. 229.
Bible, Dr. Walton's Polyglott, *App. C.* iv. 372.
Biddle, Mr., Socinian, iii. 270.
Billingsley, butcher, in Gerard's plot, iii. 205.
Biographers of Cromwell criticised, i. 14. *See* Heath, Noble, Ludlow, Banks, Maidston, Kimber, Forster, Harris.
Birch, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 226, 229.
Birch, Dr., prints Hammond's

letters, i. 302; — as an Editor, iii. 347.
Bishops, pretended Scotch, i. 41; Bishops, their lands sold, 89; — iii. 119, &c.; insulted, protest, twelve sent to the Tower, i, 118.
Bishopsgate, mutiny in, ii. 135.
Black Monday, iii. 118.
Blake, Col., Robert, relieved, i. 218; — in Ireland, ii. 202; — as Admiral, beats the Dutch, iii. 119, 131; in Little Parliament, 141; fires the Turkish ships, 324; letters from Cromwell to, 324, 334, 338, 366, 369, 384; — iv. 136; — letter to Cromwell, iii. 326; sends thirty-eight wagon-loads of silver to London, 441; beats the Spaniards at Santa Cruz, iv. 85, 134; death of, 85, 136.
Bletchington House taken, i. 203, and *App. C.* iv. 328.
Bohemia, King of, dies, i. 70.
Borlace, Col., Cromwell's letter in behalf of, *App. C.* iv. 363.
Borthwick, Lord, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 12.
Boteler, Major. *See* Butler.
Bourchier pedigree, i. 45.
Boyd, Rev. Zachary, preaches against Cromwell, iii. 6.
Bradshaw, John, presides at trial of Charles I., ii. 102; in Council of State, ii. 107; President of, 112; Cromwell's letters to, 164, 261, 304, 346, 373; — iii. 54, 67, 72, 73; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; does not sign the Recognition, 269; a rejected M.P. candidate, 383.
Bramston, Judge, notice of, i. 122.
Brandenburg, Duke of, mastered, iv. 170.
Brandly, Captain, at Tredah, ii. 165.
Brewster, Col. Humphrey, *App. C.* iv. 384. 388.
Brewster, Rev. Mr., iii. 327. 328.
Bright, Colonel, at Preston, ii. 30; notice of, 53.
Briot, Nicholas' engraver, iii. 42.
Bristol, Parliament loses, i. 162; storm of, Sept. 1645, 224; — Nayler's procession in, iii. 342.
Brocksmouth and House described, ii. 326, 327.
Broghil, Lord, in Ireland, ii. 202, 204, 205, 217, 254, 262; — in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210; — in Committee on Kingship, iv. 29, 38; and Cromwell on Kingship, 40.
Brook, Lord, a Puritan, i. 52.
Browne, Sir John, at Abingdon, i. 203; — Major-Gen. of Scots, iii. 69; routed at Inverkeithing, 71.
Buckingham, Duke, accused, i. 60; stabbed by Felton, 61, 62.
Buckingham, Duke, at Kingston, ii. 13.
Bunyan, John, notice of, i. 217.
Burford, Levellers at, ii. 138.
Burgess, Roger, Cromwell's

letters to, i. 206, 207; defends Farringdon, 207.
Burgoyne, Sir John, Cromwell's letter to, i. 139.
Burleigh House, i. 150; — iii. 374.
Burntisland surrenders to Cromwell, iii. 72, 79.
Burton's Diary criticised, iv. 17.
Burton, Rev. Henry, in pillory, i. 93.
Butler, Major, seizes Wildman, iii. 314; a Major-General, 341 *n.*
Butler, Sir Walter, Governor of Kilkenny, ii. 263; letters to Cromwell, 263, 264, 265, 266, 270; Cromwell's letters to, 262, 264, 266. 271, 272.

Cadiz to be attempted, iii. 367, 368.
Cahir Castle, Cromwell's letter to Governor of, ii. 260; submits, 261.
Calendar, Earl, at Preston fight, ii. 17, 22, 23, 26, 40.
Calendar House taken by Cromwell, iii. 69.
Cambridge, plate, i. 122; fortified, 128, 129; Committee, Cromwell's letters to, 151, 159, 160, and *App. C.* iv. 316; — royalist prisoners at, i. 180; — University, Cromwell's letter to heads of Trinity Hall, ii. 101; — protected, *App. C.* iv. 369; Cromwell's letters to Vice-Chancellor of, 396, 397.
Camdeners, the, i. 139.
Cant, its effects and prevalence, i. 4, 78; — iii. 103.
Cantwell Castle surrenders, ii. 279.
Capel, Lord, motions of, i. 127; — ii. 41; condemned, ii. 115, 116; dies nobly, 117.
Carisbrook Castle, Charles I. confined in, i. 299.
Carlingford taken, ii. 174.
Carlisle demanded by Cromwell, ii. 55; Cromwell at, 78.
Carmarthen Committee, Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 340.
Carre, Gibby. *See* Ker.
Carstairs, Principal, a Whig, iii. 36.
Carstairs, Rev. John, at Dunbar battle, ii. 333; — in Edinburgh, iii. 24; account of, 36; lectures before Cromwell, 62.
Carte, Jacobite, his opinion on Tredah, ii. 173.
Cartwright, Dr., message to Cromwell, ii. 281.
Castle, Col., notice of, i. 190; — killed at Tredah, ii. 168.
Castlehaven, Earl, assists Wexford, ii. 182, 190; at Ross, 193.
Cavendish, General, killed, i. 153, and *App. C.* iv. 321, 326; account of, i. 156.
Cecil, Trooper, and Sindercomb, iv. 8, 9.
Ceremonialism in 1610, i. 36.
Cervantes' death, i. 40.
Chaloner, M.P., a drunkard, iii. 136.
Chancery records, i. 52.
Chancery Court to be abol-

ished, iii. 184; Cromwell's reform of, 199, 319.
Charles, Prince, returns from Spain, i. 47. — Charles I., failures of, 56, 57; devices to raise money, 65; goes to Scotland, 70; wars with Scots, 102; shifts to raise an army, 103; his Council of Peers, 104; endeavours to coalesce with Puritans, 112; his difficulties, 113; favours Army-plots, 113; yields a little, 115, 116; goes to Scotland, 116; feasted by London City, 118; attempts to seize Five Members of Parliament, 119; his Queen pawns crown-jewels, 120; attempts Hull, 120; his Commission of Array, 121; at Oxford, 136; his affairs in August 1643, 162; sends for Irish Army, 186; is completety routed, 213; his motions after Naseby battle, 217; in Wales, 244; goes to Scots Army, 245; at Holmby, 249; carried off by Joyce, 275; his manœuvring, 283, 284; at Hampton Court, 286, 296; escapes, 296; goes to Isle of Wight, 299; at Carisbrook Castle, 299; attempts to escape, 317; is denounced, 325; — last Treaty with, ii. 69; at Hurst Castle, 98; Trial of, 102; Death-warrant, 103; execution of, 106; his goods, &c. to be sold, 114.
Charles II. at Jersey, ii. 191; character of, 295; with Scots Army, 306; repudiates his father's doings, 318; — descended from Elizabeth Muir, iii. 18; crowned at Scone Kirk, 30; at Perth, 22d Nov. 1650, 35; invades England, 79; at Worcester, 84; escapes from Worcester, 90; countenances assassins, 195; at Middleburg, 311; his embassy to Spain, 380; — quarrels with his brother, iv. 4; designation of, by Cromwell, 176; cold reception of abroad, 202.
Charter House, Cromwell and the, iii. 332, 333.
Cheapside. *See* Cross.
Chepstow Castle taken, ii. 2.
Cheswick, Cromwell at, ii. 56, 60.
Cholmely, Col., notice of, *App. C.* iv. 348.
Church government, Cromwell's, iii. 196, 197. *See* Bishops.
Church, Irish Papist, Cromwell's opinion of, ii. 236-240.
Cicely, Colonel, Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 331.
Civil War. *See* War.
Clarendon, Lord, character of, i. 78; his notice of Cromwell, 109, 110; — on Irish affairs, ii. 288.
Claypole, Lady, her character, i. 258; — and family, iii. 57; — death of, iv. 216, 217.
Claypoles, the, in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210.
Clayton, Col., Cromwell's letter in behalf of, *App. C.* iv. 362

Cleveland, John, poet, apprehended, iii. 359.
Clonmacnoise Manifesto, ii. 226-229.
Clonmel stormed, ii. 286.
Clubmen, account of, i. 218; put down, 221, 222; their designs discovered, 223.
Coaches, hackney, in 1654, iii. 199.
Cockburnspath. *See* Copperspath.
Cockpit, the, bestowed on Cromwell, ii. 259.
Coke, Chief Justice, i. 40; weeps, 59.
Colchester, Cromwell's letters to Mayor of, i. 137, 148; tumults at, ii. 1; siege of, 13, 41.
Colvil, Lord, in Ireland, ii. 256.
Committee, interim, 1641, i. 115; Lincoln, Cromwell's letter to, 143; of Safety, 150; Cambridge, Cromwell's letters to, 151, 159, 160; of Both Kingdoms, account of, 203; of Derby House, 302; Cromwell's letters to, ii. 80, and *App. C.* iv. 345; — Lancashire, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 19; York, Cromwell's letters to, 38, 39; of Estates, Cromwell's letters to, 54, 62, 71; — iii. 4, 39; of Army, Cromwell's letter to, 41; of Customs, 181; Cromwell's letter to, 182; of Kingship. *See* Kingship.
Commonwealth established, ii. 107; seal found, 131. *See* Seals.
Conference. *See* Hampton Court.
Conisby, Sheriff Thomas, sent prisoner to Parliament, i. 132.
Conway Castle, fortified, i. 287. *See* Williams.
Cook, Col., at Cambridge, i. 130; — at Wexford, ii. 192.
Cooke, Henry, taken in Suffolk, i. 135.
Cooper, Anthony Ashley, in Little Parliament, iii. 141; in Council of State, 184*n.*; 197*n.*; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; is refused the Lady Mary Cromwell, 379 and *n.*; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 383, 388; excluded, 440.
Coote, Sir Charles, in Ireland, ii. 174, 205.
Copperspath in Scotland, ii. 304, 324, 325.
Coriolanus, position of, iii. 240.
Cork House, Dublin, ii. 273.
Cory, John, his letter, i. 133.
Cotton, Rev. John, character of, iii. 108, 109; Cromwell's letter to, 110.
Council of State, members of, ii. 106, 107; first meeting, 112; Cromwell's letter to, 319; interim, — iii. 139, 174; Little Parliament, 184; Cromwell's, 196*n.* *See* List.
Counties. *See* Associated.
Courtenay, Mr. Hugh, royalist, iii. 278.
Covenant, — *see* Scots; taken by House of Commons, 1643, i. 169.

Covent Garden, soldiers in, i. 265.
Cowell, Col., killed, ii. 50.
Cowper, Col., in Ulster, iii. 382.
Cox, Col., Cromwell's letters to, *App. C.* iv. 387, 394.
Cradock, Rev. Mr., iii. 328.
Crane, Sir Richard, slain, i. 226.
Crawford, Maj.-Gen., notice of, i. 180, 183, 184; Cromwell's letter to, 181.
Crequi, Duc de, Ambassador to Cromwell, iv. 203.
Cromwell, Mrs. Elizabeth, letters from Oliver Cromwell to, ii. 349; — iii. 56, 65.; letter to Oliver Cromwell from, 34; retired to Norborough, 57.
Cromwell, Elizabeth (sister of Protector), Oliver's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 366.
Cromwell, Frances, and Mr. Rich, iii. 375-378; married, 379; — iv. 151.
Cromwell, Henry (son of Protector), is of Gray's Inn, i. 43; is a captain, 305; — in Ireland, ii. 262; — iii. 57; in Little Parliament, 129, 184 *n.*; in First Parliament, 210; in Ireland, good conduct of, 327, 328; appointed Lord Deputy, 328; Oliver Cromwell's letters to, 358, 364, 381; Mary, letters to, 362, 376.
Cromwell, Major, wounded at Bristol, i. 229.
Cromwell, Mary, her letters to Henry, iii. 362, 376; married, 379; — iv. 151.
Cromwell, Oliver, significance of, to the Puritan cause, i. 12; modern reaction in favour of, 16; birth, kindred, &c. 19, 20; youth of, 22; house where born, 23; his Father's character, 24.
Cromwell, list of his Brothers and Sisters, i. 20 *n.*; of his Uncles and Aunts, 25, 26 *n.*; of his Children, 68, 69 *n.*
Cromwell, his poverty? i. 26; related to Earl Essex, 26; his great grandfather, 27; the "alias Williams," 30; his Welsh pedigree, 31; origin of the name, 32; death of his grandfather, 33; idle tales of his youth, 34; his schoolmaster, 34; admitted of Cambridge University, 38, 39; death of his father, 42; death of his grandfather, 42; never of any Inn of Court, 44; marries Elizabeth Bourchier, 46; his uncle an M.P., 48; his hypochondria, 49; becomes Calvinist, 49; subscribes to Feoffee Fund, 51; is a Puritan, 51; visit to his royalist uncle, 54; heir to his uncle at Ely, 55; is M.P. for Huntingdon in 1628, 56; returns to Huntingdon, 61; first mention of in Commons' Journals, 64; is Justice of Peace, 66; sells his estate, 66. Of his Letters and Speeches, 73; how to read them, 74, 75.
Cromwell, his life at St. Ives, i. 83-91; stories of, an enthusiast? 90; at Ely, 92; char-

acter of by Warwick, 96; draining of Fen Country, 96, 97, and iii. 138; — related to Oliver St. John, i. 98; once dissolute? 44, 100.
Cromwell, is M.P. for Cambridge, i. 102, 105, and *App. C.* iv. 313; delivers Lilburn's petition, i. 108; Sir P. Warwick's description of him, 108; dispute with Lord Mandevil, 110; reproved by Mr. Hyde, 111; time spent at Ely, 116; intends for New England? 117; subscribes 300*l.* to reduce Ireland, 121.
Cromwell, gets arms for Cambridge, i. 122; his soldiers on the alert, 123; is a Captain of Parliament horse, 124; at Edgehill battle, 124; his movements in 1643, 127; is Colonel, 127; his troopers at St. Albans, 132; takes Lowestoff, 134; preserves Associated Counties, 135, 136; relieves Croyland, 141, 142; skirmish at Grantham, 145; takes Stamford, 150; at Gainsborough fight, 151, 152, and *App. C.* iv. 320; — the beginning of his great fortunes, i. 156; is Governor of Isle of Ely, 162; his Ironsides, 163; nearly killed at Winceby, 176; complains of Lord Willoughby, 180; at Marston Moor, 186; proceeds with vigour, 195; complains of Earl Manchester, 196; would fire at the King in Battle, 197; an incendiary, 200; besieges Farringdon, 206; is Lieutenant-General of the Army, 208; at Naseby Battle, 213; heads Schismatic Party, 217; reduces the Clubmen, 219-223; at Bristol, 224; on uniformity in religion, 231; famous at sieges, 233; takes Winchester, 234; his justice, 235; takes Basing, 236; his character by Mr. Peters, 240.
Cromwell, his duplicity? i. 269; his true character, 270; very busy, 293; lands voted to, 307, 308; his Free Offer, 310; his two youngest daughters, 313, 314, 316.
Cromwell, in Wales, ii. 3; goes north, 15; at Preston, 19; at Durham, 48; his justice, 63; at Berwick, 64, 67; at Seaton, and Moray House, Edinburgh, 70; feasted there, 74; at Carlisle, 78; his temper, 87; in London, 100; attends Trial of Charles I., 102.
Cromwell, made one of Council of State, ii. 107; is Commander for Ireland, 123; routs Levellers, 138; at Oxford, 140; sets out for Ireland, 142; at Bristol, 147, 148; at Dublin, 152; takes Tredah, 164; takes Ross, 197; at Cork, 217; wanted for Scotland, 221; his Declaration to Irish, 231; at Kilkenny, 262; returns to London, 288.
Cromwell, appointed Com-

mander-in-chief against Scots, ii. 296, 299; conversation with Ludlow, 296; in Scotland, 302; his generosity to the Scots, 314; encamps on Pentland Hills, 314; comments on Scots Covenant, 315; at Dunbar, 323, 325; straitened at Dunbar, 324, 325; battle of Dunbar, 326-352; Letters to Edinburgh Ministers, 354-371; — in Glasgow, iii, 6; Proclamation by, in Scotland, 11; another, on surrender of Edinburgh Castle, 27; in Edinburgh, 30; medal of him, 40-43; Chancellor of Oxford, 45, and *App. C.* iv. 368-371; — dangerously ill at Edinburgh, iii. 54-56, 62; at church in Glasgow, 62; at Allertoun House, 63-65; pursues the Scots into England, 83, 84; Worcester battle, 87-95; comes to London, 96; his government of Scotland, 99-101.

Cromwell, on future government of the State, iii. 113, 114; disbands the Rump, 134-137; his mode of public speaking, 175, 176; in Council of State, 184 *n.*; made Lord Protector, 187; personal appearance of, 187, 188.

Cromwell, removes to Whitehall, iii. 199; his First Parliament, 209, 210; difficult position of, 239, 312; accident to, in Hyde-Park, 272; *his Mother* dies, 272.

Cromwell, appoints Major-Generals, iii. 318, 340; assists the Protestants of Piedmont, 322, iv. 204-214; — dines with Triers, iii. 323; receives Swedish Ambassador, 326; interview with George Fox, 342, 343; — iv. 218, 219; — on Popery, iii. 396.

Cromwell, fond of music, iv. 16; is offered the title of King, 21, 25; recreations whilst debating kingship, 53; refuses the title of King, 133; installed Protector, 137, 138; unwell, 155, 162; invincible, 203; age and appearance, 215; last sickness of, 217; deathbed sayings and prayer, 217-224; dies, 3d September 1658, 225.

Cromwell, Oliver (son of Protector), Cornet of horse, i. 124; death of, 188 and *n.*

Cromwell, Oliver, Memoirs of the Protector by, ii. 286 *n.*

Cromwell, Richard, Protector's great grandfather, i. 27-33.

Cromwell, Richard (son of Protector), character, i. 305; — married, ii. 107; death of, 131; his Wife, 131; Cromwell's letter to his Wife, 151; Oliver's letters to, 284, and iii. 374; in First Parliament, 210; his estate, 375 *n.*

Cromwell, Mrs. Richard, her child, ii. 300.

Cromwell, Robert (eldest son of Protector), his death in

early childhood, i. 37 *n.*; his father's grief for, iv. 218.
Cromwell, Thomas, Earl Essex, i. 23; Oliver related to, 26.
Cromwells in the Civil War, i. 54.
Crook, Capt. Unton, iii. 276, 277; Cromwell's letter to, 277; pursues Wagstaff and Penruddock, 316.
Cropredy. *See* Battle.
Cross, Cheapside and Charing, destroyed, i. 147. *See* Paul's, St.
Croyland relieved, i. 142.
Cudworth, Dr., of Cambridge, iii. 373.

Dalbier, Col., at Basing siege, i. 236; account of him, 244; — in revolt at Kingston, ii. 13.
Dalegarth Hall, notice of, ii. 111.
Dalgetty, Dugald. *See* Turner, Sir James.
Dalhousie, Cromwell at, ii. 74.
Danger, Scots Committee of, i. 312.
Daniel, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, iii. 72.
Danton on government, iii. 240.
Davy, John. *See* Theauro.
Dawkins, Admiral, a Major-General, iii. 341 *n.*
Dean, Col., at Preston, ii. 30, 31; in Ireland, ii. 202; — General, in Scotland, iii. 72; Major-General, at Worcester battle, 91; in Dutch War, 119.
Dean, Cornet, Leveller, pardoned, ii. 139.
Debentures of soldiers, i. 313.
Declaration of Parliament, i. 59.
Declaration against Army, i. 271; expunged, 284; — by Cromwell, ii. 48; by Cromwell to the Army in Ireland, 155; by Cromwell to Irish, 231; by Charles Stuart against his Father, 318; by Lord General and Council of Officers, iii. 139.
Delinquents, Staffordshire, i. 257; are searched out, 307; — ii. 111; — iii. 120.
Denbigh, Earl, and Duke Hamilton, ii. 117; in Council of State, 117.
Dendy, Edward, Sergeant-at-arms, ii. 106.
Dennington Castle, i. 195, 235.
Derby, Earl, routed at Wigan, iii. 83; taken at Worcester, 95; beheaded, 95.
Derby House. *See* Committee.
Desborow, Captain, at Cambridge, i. 130; Major, at Bristol siege, 227; — Col., at Conference at Speaker's, iii. 112, 114; in Council of State, 184 *n.*, 197 *n.*; made Major-General, 318, 341 *n.*; — on Committee of Kingship, iv. 29; against title of King, 133; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153.
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, cited, i. 107, 108, 133, 200; — ii. 86; — notices of Cromwell, i. 121; — purged by Pride, ii. 100.

Dick, Sir William, notice of, ii. 73.
Dives, Sir Lewis, notice of, i. 223.
Divines, Westminster, Assembly of, i. 107, 169, 178, 263.
Dodsworth, Captain, character of, i. 137.
Doon Hill, Scots Army at, ii. 323, 324.
Dorislaus, Dr., notice of, i. 292; — ii. 101.
Douglas, Will, his rhymes on Cromwell, ii. 191.
Downhall, Mr., ejected, i. 86; — account of, *App. C.* iv. 310, 311; Cromwell's letter to, 310.
Drayton, Fen, Warrant to people of, i. 128, 129.
Drogheda. *See* Tredah.
Drury Lane, Cromwell lives in, i. 260.
Dryasdust Societies, i. 3, 4, 7, 8.
Dryden's cousin, ii. 184 *n.*
Dublin, Cromwell in, ii. 152; Cromwell's letter to Commissioners at, 273.
Dukinfield, Governor of Chester, ii. 9.
Dunbar, town described, ii. 323; Cromwell at, 304, 313, 322, 323; battle of, 330-334. *See* Battle.
Dunbar prisoners, sufferings of, ii. 347 *n.* and iv. 359, 360; — in New England, iii. 109.
Duncannon, ships taken at, ii. 206.
Dunch of Pusey, John, *collector of letters*, ii. 108; — marries Ann Mayor, iii. 78; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; — Cromwell's letter to, iv. 140.
Dundalk, Governor of, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 163.
Dundas, Governor Walter, letter to General Whalley, ii. 356; letters to, from Cromwell, 357, 361; — iii. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26; — his letters to Cromwell, ii. 359; — iii. 19, 21, 23, 25, 26.
Dundee stormed by General Monk, iii. 97.
Dunkirk taken, iv. 149, 203.
Dunse Law, Scots Army, at, i. 102.
Durham College, iii. 51-54.
Dutch War, iii. 118, 119; Treaty, 199.

Earle, Sir Walter, sent to Charles I., i. 254.
Edgehill. *See* Battle.
Edinburgh, riot in, i. 94, 95; — Cromwell in, ii. 70, 74; Scots Army near, 308, 320, 321; Ministers and Cromwell, 354-370, 376; Castle besieged, 375; — iii. 18-28; — High Church, Cromwell in, ii. 276; — Castle surrenders, iii. 28, 29.
Eleven Members, the. *See* Members.
Eliot, Sir John, motion by, i. 58; dies in the Tower, 65.
Elizabeth, Queen, tuned the pulpits, i. 63.
Ely, scene in Cathedral of, i. 179; fortified, 191; — Char-

ity, iv. 311-313; Commission of peace in, 332.
Empson, Lieut., in Scotland, rescues Gen. Lambert, ii. 306; — character and promotion, iii. 31, 33.
Engagers, the, ii. 56.
England in 1642, i. 122; — deluded by Cant, iii. 103; under Cromwell, 379, 380.
English, genius, i. 6; — iv. 226; — character of, i. 6, 57, 58, 66, 116.
Enniscorthy Castle, taken, ii. 177, 178; surprised, 253.
Episcopacy in danger, i. 118. *See* Church-government.
Erasmus's ape, i. 117.
Esmonds, the, seat of, ii. 177.
Essex, Earl, General of Parliament Army, i. 123; discontented, 147; relieves Gloucester, 164; is defeated in Cornwall in 1644, 194, 195; is pensioned, and dies, 200; funeral of, 260.
Eure, Lord, one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Evelyn of Wilts, Sir John, in Derby-House Committee, i. 304.
Everard, Leveller, ii. 133.
Ewer, Col., takes Chepstow Castle, ii. 2; presents Army Remonstrance, 88; succeeds Col. Hammond, 98; at Tredah, 171; at Kilkenny, 266, 268, 277.
Exchange, Royal, has been twice burned, i. 88.
Fairfax, Lord, in Yorkshire, i. 136; victory by, 148; beaten, 161; besieged in Hull, 170; — death of, ii. 9.
Fairfax, Sir Thomas, serves under Earl Manchester, i. 175; General of New Model Army, 200 *n.*; interview with Clubmen, 219; at Bath, 252; adheres to Commons, 255; meets the King, 262; Governor of Hull, 295; — in Kent, ii. 8, 9; becomes Lord Fairfax, 9; at trial of Charles I., 102; of Council of State, 107; half Presbyterian, 221; refuses to fight the Scots, 295; gives up his Commission, 296; — in Church Commission, iii. 198; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; — Cromwell's letters to, i. 200, 208, 221, 233, 242, 251, 253, 257, 261, 264, 266, 292, 294, 308; — ii. 10, 50, 68, 88; — *App. C.* iv. 326.
Falkland, Lord, killed, i. 165.
Famine in Ireland, ii. 199.
Farley, mansion, iii. 120.
Fast, Monthly, iii. 162 *n.*
Fauconberg, Lord, marries Mary Cromwell, iii. 329; — iv. 151; character of, 151; his letter on Cromwell's death, 225.
Fawley Park for sale, iii. 201.
Feak, Anabaptist, against Cromwell, iii. 192.
Fell, Dr., at Oxford, iii. 45.
Felsted Free-School, i. 46. 100.
Felton, John, character and death, i. 61, 62.

Fenton, Sir William, Commissioner at Cork, ii. 202, 217.
Fens, draining of the, i. 96; — drained, iii. 138.
Fenwick, Col., besieges Hume Castle, iii. 30.
Feoffees, purchases by, i. 50; prosecuted by Laud, 51; suppressed, 72; losses of, 90.
Ferral, Lt.-Gen., attacks Passage, ii. 218.
Ferrar's, Nicholas, establishment, i. 71.
Fethard Town, described, ii. 255.
Fiennes, Nathaniel, surrenders Bristol, i. 162; in Derby-House Committee, 304; — in Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*; Keeper of Great Seal, 320; — in Committee of Kingship, iv. 38, 45; his speech analysed, 163.
Finch, Speaker, his conduct, i. 64; flies, 107.
Finch, Col., in Gerard's plot, iii. 205.
Fincham, Thomas, Cromwell's letter in behalf of, *App. C.* iv. 367.
Firebrace, Henry, notice of, i. 317.
Five Members, the, i. 119.
Fleet, revolt of, ii. 15.
Fleetwood, Capt., at Cambridge, i. 130; is Lieut.-Col., 184; — Lieut.-Gen. at Dunbar, ii. 340; — at Worcester, iii. 88-91; Deputy in Ireland, 116; of Council of State, 197 *n.*; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; Cromwell's letters to, 129, 179, 202, 329; conduct in Ireland, 327; Major-General, 341 *n.*; — against King, iv. 133.
Fleming, Adjutant, notice of, i. 252; — killed, ii. 2.
Fleming, Sir Oliver, Master of Ceremonies, ii. 113.
Forster, John, on Cromwell, i. 18.
Fortescue, Major-Gen., in Jamaica, iii. 348; Cromwell's letter to, 354; death of, 357.
Fox, George, Quaker, iii. 271; and Cromwell, 342; — iv. 218, 219.
Fox, Somerset, his plot, iii. 205, 208. *See* Gerard, Vowel.
France, treaty with, iii. 321, 326, 346; — iv. 141.
France, Cromwell's letter to King of, iv. 204.
French Revolution compared to English, i. 270.
Fuller's *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, i. 64.

Gainsborough relieved, i. 151, 158; — *App. C.* iv. 320.
Geddard village, murder at, iii. 31.
Geddes, Jenny, and her stool, i. 94.
Gell, Sir John, notice of, i. 143.
Generals, Major, their office, iii. 318; names of, 341 *n.*; withdrawn, 441.
Gerard's plot, iii. 205; he is beheaded, 208.
Germany, Emperor of, Papist, iv. 170.

Gibbons, Major, defeats Royalists, ii. 13.
Gibraltar, Cromwell's idea of, iii. 368, 383, 384.
Gibson, Bishop, on Cromwell, i. 18.
Gillespie, Rev. Patrick, interview with Cromwell, iii. 63.
Glasgow, Assembly there, i. 102; — Cromwell at, iii. 6, 61; riot in, 63.
Glencairn's rebellion in Highlands, iii. 99, 201.
Gloucester besieged, i. 164; relieved by Earl Essex, 164; — Cromwell's letters for defence of, *App. C.* iv. 382, 393, 395.
Glynn, Recorder in the Tower, i. 304*n.*; — Chief Justice, on Committee of Kingship, iv. 44.
Goddard, Guibon, in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210; his narrative of, 237, 268, 269.
Goffe, Major, exhorts at Windsor Castle, i. 323; — is at Dunbar, ii. 340; — a Major-Gen., iii. 341 *n.*; — in favour of Kingship, iv. 133.
Goodman, Bishop, character of, i. 27.
Goodson, Vice-Admiral, character of, iii. 348; Cromwell's letter to, 349.
Goodwin, Robert, M. P., sent to Charles I., i. 254.
Goodwin, Rev. Thomas, preaches to Parliament, iii. 211.
Goring, Lord, pardoned, ii. 116.
Grampian Hills, Charles II. flies to, iii. 3.
Grantham. *See* Battle.
Greenwood, Dr., Cromwell's letters to, iii. 46, 49; — *App. C.* iv. 368.
Gresham College, Cromwell's letter to Governors of, iii. 373.
Grey of Groby, Lord, in Civil War, i. 143; — assists in Pride's Purge, ii. 99; — in prison, iii. 315.
Grey of Wark, Lord, commands Eastern Association, i. 125.
Grimston, Harbottle, after Restoration, i. 269.
Grocers' Hall, dinner at, ii. 141.
Grove, Major, beheaded, iii. 316.
Guildhall, scene at, i. 285.
Guilliams, Capt., slain, i. 226.
Guizot, M., criticised, i. 219 *n.*
Gustavus the Great dies, i. 69.
Guthry, Rev. James, interview with Cromwell, iii. 63.

Hacker, Col., at execution of Charles I., ii. 103; — routs Mosstroopers, iii. 31, 32; Cromwell's letter to, 32.
Haddington, Cromwell at, ii. 304, 337.
Hailes, Lord, character of, iii. 60.
Hall, Bishop, pamphlet of, i. 106.
Hamilton, Duke James, flies to King, i. 169; taken, 254; prepares an army, 311; — his army ready, ii. 13; defeated

at Preston, taken at Uttoxeter, 16-40; escapes, and is retaken, 109; condemned, 115, 116; executed, 117.
Hamilton, Duke William, succeeds his brother, ii. 117; — taken at Worcester, iii. 93; dies, 95.
Hammond, Lieut.-Gen., summoned by Commons, i. 272; notice of, 301.
Hammond, Col. Robert, at Bristol siege, i. 227, 228; the King flies to, 299; character of, 301; provided for, 316; letters from Cromwell to, 303, 316; — ii. 90.
Hammond, Dr., King's chaplain, i. 301.
Hampden, Jonn, his mother, i. 26; a Puritan, 52; ship-money, 73, 91; trial of, 95; is Colonel in Parliament Army, 124; impatient, 137, 138; proposed as Lord General, 147; mortally wounded, 150; — Cromwell to, on Ironsides, iv. 65, 66.
Hampton-Court Conference, i. 35, 36. *See* Charles I.
Hand, Mr., Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 313.
Hapton parishioners, letter concerning, i. 250.
Harley, Col., Presbyterian, i. 271; ii. 100.
Harrington, Sir James, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 143.
Harrington, James, author of *Oceana*, i. 317.
Harris's Life of Cromwell, i. 87 *n.*
Harrison, Thomas, notice of, i. 23; at Basing siege, 239; — at Preston, ii. 30; — Major-General, in Scotland, iii. 82; at Conference at Speaker's, 112, 113; at disbanding of Rump, 135, 136; in Council of State, 184 *n.*; Anabaptist, dismissed, 193; and Fifth Monarchy, 220; in prison, 315; — iv. 39.
Hartfell, Lord, in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210.
Hartlib, Samuel, letter on dissolution of Cromwell's Second Parliament, iv. 198.
Harvey, on Cromwell's death, iv. 216 &c.
Haselrig, Sir Arthur, one of the Five Members, i. 119; — Governor of Newcastle, ii. 67, 68; — in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; opposed to Cromwell, 269; — Cromwell's letters to, ii. 325, 345, 346 *n.*, 347 *n.*; — *App. C.* iv. 358-360; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, iii. 388; excluded, 440; — re-admitted, iv. 152; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153; sits in the Commons, 166, 191; his death, 187 *n.*
Hastings, Mr., for the King, i. 145.
Haverfordwest, Cromwell's letters to Mayor of, *App. C.* iv. 341, 342.
Haynes, Col., Deputy Major-Gen., iii. 341 *n.*; apprehends poet Cleveland, 359.

Heath, James, "Carrion Heath," on Cromwell, i. 14, 15.
Henderson, Sir John, renegade Scot, i. 142, 175.
Henry, Prince, death of, i. 38.
Henshaw, Major, in Gerard's plot, iii. 205.
Herbert, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 229; — in Wales, ii. 7.
Herbert, Lord, afterwards Duke Beaufort, iii. 57, 58; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210.
Heroic and unheroic ages, i. 80, 81.
Heroism, Puritan, i. 2, 9.
Hewit, Dr., plot and execution of, iv. 200, 201.
Hewson, Col., at Langford House, i. 243; — at Tredah, ii. 171; Governor of Dublin, 273 *n.*; joins Cromwell in the South, 275, 276; — one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Heylin, lying Peter, i. 69.
Hill, Dr. Thomas, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Cromwell's letter to, i. 300.
Hill, William, notice of, ii. 47.
Hills, Henry, printer to Protector, iii. 280.
Hilsden House taken, i. 180.
Hinchinbrook House, i. 21; sale of, 53; Charles I. at, 275.
Hippesley, Sir John, sent to Charles I., i. 254.
Hispaniola, failure of attack on, iii. 343-345.
Historians, character of good, i. 7; labour of, 12, 13.
History of Puritanism, its difficulties, i. 2-9.
Histriomastix. *See* Prynne.
Hitch, Rev. Mr., Cromwell's letter to, i. 179.
Hobart, Col. Sir Miles, i. 142.
Hodgson, Capt., character of, ii. 16; — in Scots War, ii. 300; narrative by, 303.
Holborn, General, invites Cromwell to Edinburgh, ii. 76; at Dunbar battle, 331 *n.*
Holland House, i. 286.
Holland, Earl, at Kingston, ii. 13; condemned, 115, 116; executed, 117.
Hollar, Wenceslaus, taken at Basing, i. 241.
Holles, Denzil, holds down the Speaker, i. 64, 65; imprisoned, 65; Presbyterian, 271; a leader in Parliament, 274. *See* Members, Eleven.
Holmby, Charles I. at, i. 249, 262.
Homer's Iliad, i. 6.
Hooke Alderman, notice of, ii. 298.
Hopton, Sir Ingram, at Winceby, i. 176.
Hopton, Sir Ralph, character of, i. 233.
Horse, wooden, described, ii. 126.
Horton, Col., defeats Welsh, ii. 2; dies, 199.
Hotham, Capt., doings and arrest of, i. 150.
Hothams, the, executed, i. 267.
Howard's, Dr., Letters, iii. 333 *n.*
Howard, Col., in Little Parliament, iii. 141; attends Cromwell to Parliament, 211; De-

puty Major-General, 341 *n.*; — one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Howlet, Mr., tutor to Cromwell, i. 39, 40.
Hubbert, Capt., passed over, iii. 32, 33.
Hughes, Col., Governor of Chepstow, Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 340.
Hull, Charles I. attempts, i. 120; besieged, 167, 170, 177; Governors of, 295.
Hume Castle besieged, iii. 30.
Hungary, King of, Papist, iv. 170.
Hungerford, Anthony, Royalist, iii. 121, 127; Cromwell's letters to, 122, 128.
Hungerford, Sir Edward, notice of, iii. 121, 122.
Hungerford, Henry, notice of, iii. 121.
Huntingdon described, i. 22.
Huntly, Marquis, for Charles II., iii. 2, 74.
Hurry, Col. Sir John, wounded at Preston, ii. 24; taken with Montrose, and executed, 33 *n.*
Hursley described, i. 305.
Hurst Castle, Charles I. at, ii. 98.
Hutchinson, Colonel, Governor of Nottingham, ii. 83.
Hyde, Mr. *See* Clarendon, Lord.
Hyde Park, Army near, i. 286; — accident to Cromwell in, iii. 272.

Impropriations, Lay, meaning of, i. 37. *See* Feoffees.
Inchiquin, Lord, at Arklow, ii. 207, 208; assaults Carrick, 213.
Inchgarvie taken, iii. 72, 75.
Incumbrance, Parliamentary defining of, iii. 117, 118, 154; — iv. 116.
Independents and Presbyterians, i. 195, 261, 268.
Indies, West, expedition to, failed, iii. 337, 343.
Ingoldsby, Colonel, at Bristol siege i. 229.
Innes, Lieut.-Col., taken, ii. 33.
Instrument of Government, the — iii. 187, 191; — new, iv. 23, 86.
Inverkeithing, battle of, iii. 69, 70. — Colours taken at, *App. C.* iv. 366.
Inverness Citadel built by Cromwell, iii. 100.
Ireland, state of, in 1649, ii. 157—159.
Ireland, misrepresentation of Cromwell's doings in, ii. 229. 230, 246.
Ireland, narrative of Cromwell's campaign in, ii. 259.
Ireton, Commissary-General, at Bristol siege, i. 225; weds Bridget Cromwell, 245; character of, 258, 278; — in Ireland, ii. 149; President of Munster, 276; Deputy in Ireland, 287; dies in Ireland, 288; Cromwell's letter to, 351; — character of, iii. 115, 116.
Ireton, Mrs., Cromwell's letter to, i. 258; — widow, married

to Fleetwood, iii. 116; notice of, 180, 330.
Ireton, Alderman, in Little Parliament, iii. 142; of Customs Committee, 181.
Irish, Massacre in 1641, i. 117; Charles I. sends for Army of, 186; Papists found in arms in England to be hanged, 190; — Cromwell's declaration to the, ii. 231; forces go abroad, 287; Puritan settlement, 289. *See* Papists.
Ironsides, Cromwell's, described, i. 163; first glimpse of, 167; — Cromwell to Hampden on the, iv. 65. 66.

Jaffray, Provost, at Dunbar battle, ii. 333; — at Edinburgh, iii. 24, 36; account of, 35; a Quaker, &c. 36; in Little Parliament, 142.
Jamaica Island, taken, iii. 343, 345.
James, Col. John, Governor of Worcester, after the Battle, iii. 95. *n.*
James I., King, visits Hinchinbrook, i. 33; a theologian, 36; his falling off, 37; returns to Scotland, 41; his miscalculations, 47; dies, 48.
Jedburgh. *See* Geddard.
Jenner, Robert, M. P., notice of, ii. 83; Cromwell's letter to, 83.
Jephson, Governor of Bandon, ii. 215
Jesuit stabs Henry IV. i. 37., *See* Papist.
Jesuit practices in England iii. 224.
Jews, endeavour to settle in England, iii. 360.
Johnson, Colonel, shot, ii. 274.
Johnson, Samuel, his hypochondria, i. 49.
Johnston, Archibald, Lord Register of Scotland, account of, i. 203; — iii. 59, 60. Cromwell's letter to, 58.
Jones, Inigo, taken at Basing, i. 241.
Jones, Col. Michael, occupies Dublin, i. 290; routs Irish at Dungan Hill, 290; Cromwell's letter to, 290; — routs Ormond's army, ii. 149; vote in favour of, 151, 201; dies, 218.
Jones, Col. John, regicide, i. 291.
Jones, Col. Philip, in Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*; — on Committee of Kingship, iv. 75.
Jones, Quartermaster Samuel, notice of, ii. 7.
Joyce, Cornet, carries off the King, i. 275; — Lieut.-Col., imprisoned, iii. 201.

Keinton fight. *See* Battle, Edgehill.
Kelsey, Major, at Langford house, i. 243; — becomes Colonel, a Major-General, iii. 341 *n.*
Kenrick, Col., Cromwell's letter to, i. 318.
Kent in insurrection, i. 312; — ii. 1, 8.

Ker, Col. Gilbert, interview with, ii. 318; at Glasgow, 374; — in Scots Army, iii. 3; Remonstrance by, 6-8, 12, 17; his forces routed, 14.
Ker, Earl Somerset. *See* Overbury.
Ker, Sir Andrew, notice of, ii. 60.
Kilkenny taken, ii. 262-272, 277, 278; Irish at, 262.
Killing no murder, iv. 15 *n.*
Kimber, Rev., on Cromwell, i. 18.
Kimbolton, Lord, with the Five Members, i. 119. *See* Mandevil, Manchester.
King Street, Cromwell lives in, i. 320.
Kingship, Oliver Cromwell's, iv. 21, 25, 33, 40, 53, 74, 75, 129; Committee on, 28, 38; he refuses it, 133.
Kingston, insurrection at, ii. 13.
Kirkcudbright, Lord, invites Cromwell to Edinburgh, ii. 76.
Knyvett, Thomas, taken at Lowestoff, i. 134; Cromwell's letter to, 250.
Kurisees, Irish, go abroad, ii. 287; in Piedmont, iii. 321.

Ladies taken at Naseby, i. 215; at Basing House, 239.
Lambert, General, described, i. 278; — in the North, ii. 9; at Edinburgh, 66, 73, 78; at Pontefract, 100; — Major-General in Scots War, 299; skirmishes with the Scots, 304, 306; at Dunbar battle, 330, 339, 340; — routs Colonel Ker, iii. 13, 14; at Glasgow, 63; routs General Browne at Inverkeithing, 69, 70; at Worcester battle, 88; in the Highlands, 99; of Council of State, 197 *n.*; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; a Major-General of counties, 341 *n.*; — against title of King, iv. 133; dismissed, 133.
Lammermoor Hills, described, ii. 323; Scots Army at, 324.
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, joins Scots, ii. 9; escapes, 83.
Langley, Colchester Captain, i. 137.
Langport, Battle of, *App. C.* iv. 333.
Laud, William, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, i. 38; finds no religion in Scotland, 42; persecutions by, 51; inclined to Popery, 63; Parliament intends to accuse, 64; accompanies Charles I. to Scotland, 70; roots out Feoffees, 72; is in the Tower, 107, 118; beheaded, 267.
Lauderdale, Earl, taken at Worcester, iii. 93; incident to, in London, 95; notice of, 95.
Laughern, Major-Gen., revolts, ii. 1; condemned to death, 118.
Laughern, Lieut.-Col., shot, ii. 274.

Law, Reform of, iii. 116-118, 125, 184, 185.
Lawrence, Col. Henry, of Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*
Lea Hamlet, described, i. 155.
Lecturers, running, described, i. 51, 89.
Lehunt, Col., commissioned, ii. 13.
Leicester taken and retaken, i. 210, 217.
Leith Citadel built by Cromwell, iii. 100.
Leland's Itinerary, i. 30.
Lemon, Mr., classified Records, ii. 113.
Lenthall, Hon. William, Speaker, Cromwell's letters to, i. 216, 224, 236, 243, 297; — ii. 3, 14, 28, 64, 74, 75, 144, 153, 166, 174, 177, 197, 203, 211, 217, 253, 274, 298, 335; — iii. 14, 29, 50, 52, 70, 78, 80, 91, 92; — *App. C.* iv. 320, 336, 338, 348; — Conference at his house, iii. 111—115; unseated, 136; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210, 237; against Law Reform, 320; — on Committee of Kingship, iv. 38, 48; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153.
Lesley, Alexander, Fieldmarshal, at Dunse Law, i. 102; Earl of Leven, enters England with Scots Army in 1644, 180; at Marston Moor, 186; — cannonades the Hamilton Engagers from Edinburgh Castle, ii. 42; entertains Cromwell at dinner, 74; — at Alyth, and sent to the Tower, iii. 98.
Lesley, General David, extinguishes Montrose, i. 244; — at head of Kirk Party, ii. 42; General of Scots, 308; — iii. 69; — his caution, ii. 313; letter to Cromwell, 314; Cromwell's letters to, 315; — iii. 35; — and the English soldier at Dunbar, ii 327.
Lesley, Ludovic Governor of Berwick, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 51.
L'Estrange, Roger, i. 168.
Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. I.) One abstracted, i. 53. (*App. C.* iv. 310); how to read them, 74; corrections of originals, 76.
— i. To Mr. Storie (St. Ives, 11. Jan. 1635), 83. (*App. C.* 313.)
— ii. — Mrs. St. John (Ely 13. Oct. 1638), 92.
— iii. — Mr. Willingham (London, Feb. 1640), 105. (*App. C.* 316.)
— iv. — R. Barnard, Esq. (Huntingdon, 23 Jan. 1642), 125.
— v. — Deputy-Lieutenants of Suffolk (Cambridge, 10 March 1642), 131.
— vi. — Mayor of Colchester (Cambridge, 23 March 1642), 137.
— vii. — Sir J. Burgoyne (Huntingdon, 10 April 1643), 139.
— viii. — R. Barnard, Esq.

(Huntingdon, 17 April 1643), 140.
Letter ix.—Lincoln Committee (Lincolnshire, 3 May 1643), 143.
— x. — Unknown (Grantham, 13. May 1643), 145.
— xi. — Mayor of Colchester (Lincolnshire, 28 May 1643), 148. (*App. C.* 320 324
— xii. — Cambridge Commissioners (Huntingdon, 31 July 1643), 151.
— xiii. — Unknown (Huntingdon, 2 Aug. 1643), 156.
— xiv. — Cambridge Commissioners (Huntingdon, 6 Aug. 1643), 158.
— xv. — Cambridge Commissioners (Peterborough, 8 Aug. 1643), 160.
— xvi. — Suffolk Committee (Cambridge, Sept. 1643), 164.
— xvii. To O. St. John, Esq. (Eastern Association, 11 Sept. 1643), 167.
— xviii. — Suffolk Committee (Holland, Lincolnshire, 28 Sept. 1643), 169.
— xix. — Rev. Mr. Hitch (Ely, 10 Jan. 1643), 179.
— xx. — Major-General Crawford (Cambridge, 10 March 1643), 180.
— xxi. — Col. Walton (York, 5 July 1644), 186.
— xxii. — Ely Committee (Lincoln, 1 Sept. 1644), 191.
— xxiii. — Col. Walton (Sleaford, 6 or 5 Sept. 1644), 192.
Letter xxiv. — Sir T. Fairfax (Salisbury, 9 April 1645), 200. (*App C.* 326.)
— xxv. — Committee of both Kingdoms (Bletchington, 25 April 1645), 203.
— xxvi. — Governor R. Burgess (Farringdon, 29 April 1645), 206.
— xxvii. — the same, same date, 207.
— xxviii. — Sir T. Fairfax (Huntingdon, 4 June 1645), 207.
— By Express. To Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk (Cambridge, 6 June 1645), 209. (*App. C.* 332.)
— xxix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Harborough, 14 June 1645), 212.
— xxx.—Sir T. Fairfax (Shaftesbury, 4 Aug. 1645), 218.
— xxxi. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Bristol, 14 Sept. 1645), 224.
— xxxii. — Sir T. Fairfax (Winchester, 6 Oct. 1645), 233.
— xxxiii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Basingstoke, 14 Oct. 1645), 235.
— xxxiv. — Sir T. Fairfax (Wallop, 16 Oct. 1645), 241.
— xxxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Salisbury, 17 Oct. 1645), 243. (*App. C.* 331.)
— xxxvi. — T. Knyvett, Esq. (London, 27 July 1646), 249.
— xxxvii. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 31 July 1646), 251.
— xxxviii. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 10 Aug. 1646), 253.

Letter xxxix. — J. Rushworth, Esq. (London, 26 Aug. 1646), 255.
— xl. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 6 Oct. 1636), 257.
— xli. — Mrs. Ireton (London, 25 Oct. 1646), 258.
— xlii. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 21 Dec. 1646), 260.
— xliii. — the same (London, 11 March 1646), 264.
— xliv. — the same (London, 19 March 1646), 266. (*App. C.* 332, 336, 338.)
— xlv. To Archbishop of York (Putney, 1 Sept. 1647), 287.
— xlvi. — Col. Jones (Putney, 14 Sept. 1647), 289.
— xlvii. — Sir T. Fairfax (Putney, 13 Oct. 1647), 292.
— xlviii. — the same (Putney, 22 Oct. 1647), 294.
— xlix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Hampton Court, 11 Nov. 1647), 296.
— l. — Col. Whalley (Putney, Nov. 1647), 298.
— li. — Dr. T. Hill (Windsor, 23 Dec. 1647), 300.
— lii. — Col. Hammond (London, 3 Jan. 1647), 301.
— liii. — Col. Norton (London, 25 Feb. 1647), 305.
— liv. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 7 March 1647), 308.
— lv. — Col. Norton (Farnham, 28 March 1648), 311.
— lvi. — the same (London, 3 April 1648), 313.
— lvii. — Col. Hammond (London, 6 April 1648), 316.
— lviii. — Col. Kenrick (London, 18 April 1648), 318. (*App. C.* 340.)
Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. II.)
Letter lix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Pembroke, 14 June 1648), 3.
— lx. — Major Saunders (Pembroke, 17 June 1648), 5. (*App. C.* 340.)
— lxi. — Lord Fairfax (Pembroke, 28 June 1648), 8.
— lxii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Pembroke, 11 July 1648), 14. (*App. C.* 341-343.)
— lxiii. — Lancashire Committee (Preston, 17 Aug. 1648), 19.
— lxiv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Warrington, 20 Aug. 1648), 22.
— lxv. — York Committee (Warrington, 20 Aug. 1648), 38.
— lxvi. — the same (Wigan, 23 Aug. 1648), 39.
— lxvii. — O. St. John, Esq. (Knaresborough, 1 Sept. 1648), 42.
— lxviii. — Lord Wharton (Knaresborough, 2 Sept. 1648), 44.
— lxix. — Lord Fairfax (Alnwick, 11 Sept. 1648), 50.
— lxx. — Governor of Berwick (Alnwick, 15 Sept. 1648), 51.
— lxxi. — Marquis Argyle, and the well-affected Lords now in arms in Scotland (near Berwick, 16 Sept. 1648), 52.
— lxxii. — Committee of Es-

tates (near Berwick, 16 Sept. 1648), 54.
Letter lxxiii. To Earl Loudon (Cheswick, 18 Sept. 1648), 56. (*App. G.* 345.)
— lxxiv. — Committee of Estates (Norham, 21 Sept. 1648), 62.
— lxxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Berwick, 2 Oct. 1648), 64.
— lxxvi. — Lord Fairfax (Berwick, 2 Oct. 1648), 68.
— lxxvii. — Committee of Estates (Edinburgh, 5 Oct. 1648), 71.
— lxxviii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dalhousie, 8 Oct. 1648), 74.
— lxxix. — the same (Dalhousie, 9 Oct. 1648), 75. (*App. C.* 348.)
— lxxx. — Governor Morris (Pontefract, 9 Nov. 1648), 79.
— lxxxi. — Derby-House Committee (Knottingley, near Pontefract, 15 Nov. 1648), 79.
— lxxxii. — Jenner and Ashe (Knottingley, 20 Nov. 1648), 83.
— lxxxiii. — Lord Fairfax (Knottingley, 20 Nov. 1648), 87.
— lxxxiv. — T. St. Nicholas, Esq. (Knottingley, 25 Nov. 1648), 89.
— lxxxv. — Col. Hammond (Knottingley, 25 Nov. 1648), 90.
— lxxxvi. — Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge (London, 18 Dec. 1648), 101.
Letter lxxxvii. To Rev. Robinson (London, 1 Feb. 1648,) 108.
— lxxxviii.-xc. — R. Mayor, Esq., on Richard Cromwell's Marriage (12 Feb. to 8 March 1648), 111-115.
— xci. — Dr. Love (London, 14 March 1648), 118.
— xcii.-xcvi. — R. Mayor, Esq., on Richard Cromwell's Marriage (14 March 1648 to 15 April 1649), 120-129.
— xcvii. — Hon. Sir James Harrington (London, 9 July 1649), 142.
— xcviii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (London, 10 July 1649), 144.
— xcix. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Bristol, 19 July 1649), 147.
— c. — the same (Milford Haven, 13 Aug. 1649), 148.
— ci. — Mrs. R. Cromwell (Milford Haven, 13 Aug. 1649), 151.
— cii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dublin, 22 Aug. 1649), 153.
— ciii. — Governor of Dundalk (Tredah, 12 Sept. 1649), 163.
— civ. To President Bradshaw (Dublin, 16 Sept. 1649), 164.
— cv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dublin, 17 Sept. 1649), 166.
— cvi. — the same (Dublin, 27 Sept. 1649), 174.
— cvii — the same (Wexford, 14 Oct. 1649), 177.
— cviii.-cxi. — Siege of Ross (17-19 Oct. 1649), 192-196.
— cxii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Ross, 25 Oct. 1649), 197.

Letter cxiii.—R. Mayor, Esq. (Ross, 13 Nov. 1649), 200.
— cxiv. — Hon. Thomas Scott (Ross, 14 Nov. 1649), 201.
— cxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Ross, 14 Nov. 1649), 203.
— cxvi. — the same (Waterford, Nov. 1649), 210. (*App. C.* 349-352.)
— cxvii. — the same (Cork, 19 Dec. 1649), 217.
— cxviii. — Right Hon. Lord Wharton (Cork, 1 Jan. 1649), 222. (*App. C.* 353.)
— cxix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Castletown, 15 Feb. 1649), 252.
— cxx. — Governor of Cahir Castle (Cahir, 24 Feb. 1649), 259.
— cxxi. — President Bradshaw (Cashel, 5 March 1649), 261.
— cxxii.-cxxviii. Kilkenny Siege (22-27 March 1649-50), 262-272.
— cxxix. — Dublin Commissioners (Carrick-on-Suir, 1 April 1650), 273.
— cxxx. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Carrick, 2 April 1650), 274.
— cxxxi. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Carrick, 2 April 1650), 282.
— cxxxii. — Richard Cromwell, Esq. (Carrick, 2 April 1650), 284.
— cxxxiii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (London, 20 June 1650), 298.
— cxxxiv. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Alnwick, 17 July 1650), 300.
Letter cxxxv.—President Bradshaw (Musselburgh, 30 July 1650), 304.
— cxxxvi. — General Assembly (Musselburgh, 3 Aug. 1650), 309.
— cxxxvii. — Gen. Lesley (Camp at Pentland Hills, 14 Aug. 1650), 315.
— cxxxviii. — Council of State (Musselburgh, 30 Aug. 1650), 319.
— cxxxix. — Sir A. Haselrig (Dunbar, 2 Sept. 1650), 324.
— cxl. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 335.
— cxli. — Hon. Sir A. Haselrig (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 344.
— cxlii. — President Bradshaw (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 346.
— cxliii. — Mrs. E. Cromwell (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 349.
— cxliv. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 349.
— cxlv. — Lieut.-Gen. Ireton (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 351.
— cxlvi. — Right Hon. Lord Wharton (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 353. (*App. C.* 418, 419.)
— cxlvii. — Governor Dundas (Edinburgh, 9 Sept. 1650), 357.
— cxlviii. — the same (Edinburgh, 12 Sept. 1650), 361.
— cxlix.—President Bradshaw Edinburgh, 25 Sept. 1650), 372.
Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. III.)
— cl. — Committee of Estates (Linlithgow, 9 Oct. 1650), 4.

Letter cli.—Col. Strahan (Edinburgh, 25 Oct. 1650), 7.
— clii. — Lord Borthwick (Edinburgh, 18 Nov. 1650), 12.
— cliii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 4 Dec. 1650), 12.
— cliv.-clx. Siege of Edinburgh Castle (12-18 Dec. 1650), 18-26.
— clxi. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 24 Dec. 1650), 29.
— clxii. — Col. Hacker (Edinburgh, 25 Dec. 1650), 31.
— clxiii. — Gen. Lesley (Edinburgh, 17 Jan. 1650), 33.
— clxiv. — Committee of Estates (Edinburgh, 17. Jan. 1650), 38.
— clxv. — Committee of Army (Edinburgh, 4 Feb. 1650), 40.
— clxvi. — Rev. Dr. Greenwood (Edinburgh, 4 Feb. 1650), 44.
— clxvii. — the same (Edinburgh, 14 Feb. 1650), 48.
— clxviii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 8 March 1650), 49.
— clxix. — the same (Edinburgh, 11 March 1650), 51.
— clxx. — President Bradshaw (Edinburgh, 24 March 1650), 54.
— clxxi. — Mrs. E. Cromwell (Edinburgh, 12 April 1651), 56.
— clxxii. — Hon. A. Johnston (Edinburgh, 12 April 1651), 58.
— clxxiii. — Mrs. E. Cromwell (Edinburgh, 3 May 1651), 65.
Letter clxxiv.—President Bradshaw (Edinburgh, 3 June 1651), 67.
— clxxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Linlithgow, 21 July 1651), 70.
— clxxvi. — President Bradshaw (Dundas, 24 July 1651), 72.
— clxxvii. — To the same (Linlithgow, 26 July 1651), 73.
— clxxviii. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Burntisland, 28 July 1651), 76.
— clxxix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Burntisland, 29 July 1651), 78.
— clxxx. — the same (Leith, 4 Aug. 1651), 79.
— clxxxi. — Lord Wharton (Stratford-on-Avon, 27 Aug. 1651), 85.
— clxxxii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (near Worcester, 3 Sept. 1651), 91.
— clxxxiii. — the same (Worcester, 4 Sept. 1651), 92.
— clxxxiv. — Rev. J. Cotton (London, 2 Oct. 1651), 108. (*App. C.* 368.)
— clxxxv. — Mr. Hungerford (London, 30 July 1652), 120.
— clxxxvi. — A. Hungerford, Esq. (Cockpit, 10 Dec. 1652), 127.
— clxxxvii. — Lieut.-General Fleetwood (Cockpit, 1652), 129.
— clxxxviii. — Mr. Parker (Whitehall, 23 April 1653), 137. (*App. C.* 372-374.)
— clxxxix. — Lieut.-Genera

Fleetwood (Cockpit, 22 Aug. 1653), 179. (*App. C.* 375.)
Letter cxc.—Committee of Customs (Cockpit, Oct. 1653), 181.
— cxci. — H. Weston, Esq. (London, 16 Nov. 1653), 182. (*App. C.* 376.)
— cxcii. — To R. Mayor, Esq. (Whitehall, 4 May 1654), 200.
— cxciii. — Lord Fleetwood (Whitehall, 16 May 1654), 201.
— cxciv. — Col. Alured (16 May 1654), 203. (*App. C.* 377.)
— cxcv. — Sir T. Vyner (Whitehall, 5 July 1654), 206.
— cxcvi. — R. Bennet, Esq. (Whitehall, 12 Jan. 1654), 274.
— cxcvii. — Captain Unton Crook (Whitehall, 20 Jan. 1654), 275. (*App. C.* 381-387.)
— cxcviii. — Gen. Blake (Whitehall, 13 June 1655), 323.
— cxcix. — Lord Fleetwood (Whitehall, 22 June 1655), 327.
— cc. — Secretary Thurloe (Whitehall, 28 July 1655), 331.
— cci. — Gen. Blake (Whitehall, 30 July 1655), 334.
— ccii. — the same (Whitehall, 13 Sept. 1655), 337.
— cciii. — Maryland Commissioners (Whitehall, 26 Sept. 1655), 339.
— cciv. — To Gen. Goodson (Whitehall, Oct. 1655), 348.
— ccv. — D. Serle, Esq. (Whitehall, Oct. 1655), 352. (*App. C.* 388.)
Letter ccvi. — Gen. Fortescue (Whitehall, Nov. 1655), 354.
— ccvii. — Henry Cromwell (Whitehall, 21 Nov. 1655), 357.
— ccviii. — the same (Whitehall, 21 April 1656), 363.
— ccix. — Generals Blake and Montague (Whitehall, 28 April 1656), 365.
— ccx. — the same (Whitehall, 6 May 1656), 368.
— ccxi. — Gresham College Committee (Whitehall, 9 May 1656), 372.
— ccxii. — Richard Cromwell (Whitehall, 29 May 1656), 374.
— ccxiii. — Henry Cromwell (Whitehall, 26 Aug. 1656), 379.
— ccxiv. — Generals Blake and Montague (Whitehall, 28 Aug. 1656), 383.
Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. IV.)
— ccxv. — Mayor of Newcastle (Whitehall, 18 Dec. 1656), 1.
— ccxvi. — Cardinal Mazarin (Whitehall, 26 Dec. 1656), 3.
— ccxvii. — Parliament (Whitehall, 25 Dec. 1656), 20.
— ccxviii. — Gen. Blake (Whitehall, 10 June 1657), 136. (*App. C.* 447, 448.)
— ccxix. — Gen. Montague (Whitehall, 11 Aug. 1657), 139.
— ccxx. — J. Dunch, Esq.

(Hampton Court, 27 Aug. 1657), 140.
Letter ccxxi. — Gen. Montague (Hampton Court, 30 Aug. 1657), 140.
— ccxxii. — Sir W. Lockhart (Whitehall, 31 Aug. 1657), 141.
— ccxxiii. — the same, same date, 146.
— ccxxiv. — Gen. Montague (Whitehall, 2 Oct. 1657), 147, (*App.* 448-450.)
— ccxxv. — Sir W. Lockhart (Whitehall, 26 May 1658), 204. (*App.* 451, 452.)
Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Appendix C.)
— To Mr. H. Downhall (Huntingdon, 14 Oct. 1626), 310.
— Mr. Hand (Ely, 13 Sept. 1638), 313.
— Mayor of Cambridge (London, 8 May 1641), 316.
— Deputy-Lieutenants of Norfolk (Cambridge, 26, 27 Jan. 1642). 317, 318.
— to Hon. W. Lenthall (Lincoln, 29 July 1643), 320.
— Sir John Wray (Eastern Association, 30 July 1643), 324.
— Sir T. Fairfax (Bletchington, 24 April 1645), 326.
— Capt. Underwood (Huntingdon, 6 June 1645), 332.
— A Worthy Member of the House of Commons (Langport, July 1645), 333.
— Colonel Cicely (Tiverton, 10 Dec. 1645), 331.
— Hon Sir D. North (London, 30 March 1647), 332.
Letter to Hon. W. Lenthall, on Army Troubles (Saffron Walden, 3, 8, 17 May 1647), 336-338.
— Carmarthen Committee (Pembroke, 9 June 1648), 340.
— Colonel Hughes (Pembroke, 26 June 1648), 340.
— Mayor, &c. of Haverfordwest (12 July 1648), 341.
— the same (14 July 1648), 342.
— Derby-House Committee (Wigan, 23 Aug. 1648), 343.
— Committee of Derby House (Norham, 20 Sept. 1648), 345.
— Hon W. Lenthall (Boroughbridge, 28 Oct. 1648), 348.
— Waterford Correspondence (21-24 Nov. 1649), 349-352.
— Lieut.-General Farrell (Cork, 4 Jan. 1649), 353.
— Colonel Phayr (Fethard, 9 Feb. 1649), 357.
— John Sadler, Esq. (Cork, 31 Dec. 1649), 354.
— Hon. Sir A. Haselrig (Dunbar, 5 Sept. 1650), 359.
— the same (Edinburgh, 9 Sept. 1650), 359.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 28 Dec. 1650), 360.
— the same (Glasgow, 25 April 1651), 361.
— the same (Edinburgh, 10 May 1651), 362.
— the same (Edinburgh, 13 June 1651), 363.
— Mayor of Doncaster (Ripon, 18 Aug. 1651), 364.

Letter to Hon. W. Lenthall Evesham, 8 Sept. 1651), 364.
— the same (Chipping Norton, 8 Sept. 1651), 366.
— Elizabeth Cromwell (Cockpit, 15 Dec. 1651), 366.
— to Sequestration Committee (Cockpit, Dec. 1651), 367
— Dr. Greenwood of Oxford (Cockpit, 12 April 1652), 368.
— Lord Wharton (Cockpit, 30 June 1652), 371.
— Dr. Walton (Whitehall, 16 May 1653), 372.
— Lieut.-Col. Mitchell (Whitehall, 18 May 1653), 373.
— Cardinal Mazarin (Westminster, 19 June 1653), 374.
— Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke (Whitehall, 2 Sept. 1653), 375.
— Cardinal Mazarin (Whitehall, 26 Jan. 1653), 376.
— Mayor of Lynn Regis (Whitehall, 30 Jan. 1653), 376.
— Sir J. Wilde (Whitehall, 24 March 1654), 381.
— Mayor of Gloucester (Whitehall, 24 March 1654), 382.
— Cardinal Mazarin (Whitehall, 29 June 1654), 377
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Whitehall, 22 Sept. 1654), 379.
— the same (Whitehall, 5 Oct. 1654), 379.
— President of Rhode Island (Whitehall, 29 March 1655), 385.
— Capt. J. Leverett (Whitehall, 3 April 1655), 386.
Letter to Colonel A. Cox (Whitehall, 24 April 1655), 387.
— Col. H. Brewster (Whitehall, 26 Oct. 1655), 388.
— Vice-Chancellor of Oxford (Whitehall, 3 July 1657), 392.
— Bailiffs of Oswestry (Whitehall, 13 July 1657), 393.
— Mayor of Gloucester (Whitehall, 2 Dec. 1657), 393.
— Colonel Cox (Whitehall, 4 Feb. 1657), 394.
— Commanders of Gloucester Militia (Whitehall, 11 March 1657), 395.
— Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge (Whitehall, 28 May 1658), 397.
— the same (Whitehall, 22 June 1658), 396.

Levellers described, i. 296; Arnald shot, 299; — remarks on, ii. 132-134; routed at Burford, 138.
Leven, Earl of. *See* Lesley, Alexander.
Leverett, Capt., Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 386.
Libberton, Lord, killed at Dunbar, ii. 341.
Liberty of the people, i. 79.
Lilburn, John, account of, i. 108; his brothers, 256; accuses Cromwell, 304; — his pamphlets, ii. 126; — death of, iv. 149, 150.
Lilburn, Col. Robert, in Lancashire, ii. 9; — routs Earl Derby, iii. 83; and Bess

Park, 49, 50; deputy Major-General, 341 *n.*
Lincoln Committee, Cromwell's letter to, i. 143.
Lincolnshire in 1643, i. 140, 141, 142, 174-177.
Lisle, Lord Viscount, in Council of State, ii. 119; — iii. 184 *n.*, 197 *n.*
Lisle, Mr., in Council of State, ii. 119; — Keeper of Great Seal, iii. 320; — at Installation, iv. 138.
Lisle, Sir George, shot, ii. 41.
List of Cromwell family, i. 20, 25, 68; of the Eleven Members, 283 *n.*; — of Officers slain at Tredah, ii. 176; — of Little Parliament, iii. 141, 142; of Council of State, 1653, 184 *n.*; 1654, 196, 197 *n.*; of Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; of Major-Generals, 341 *n.*; of Cromwell's estates, 375, 376 *n.*; of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Livingston, Rev. James, notice of, by Cromwell, iii. 16; his descendants, 18.
Lloyd, Capt., sent to Generals Blake and Montague, iii. 367.
Locke, John, Tomb of, i. 97.
Lockhart, William, Ensign, i. 266; — Col., wounded at Preston, ii. 26; — Ambassador to France, iv. 5; notice of, 142, 143; commands at Dunkirk, 149; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153; Cromwell's Letters to, 143, 146, 209. *See* Sewster.
Lockier, Rev., preaches at Cromwell's Installation, iii. 187.
Lockyer, Trooper, shot, ii. 135.
Loftus, Sir Arthur, notice of, ii. 210.
London City petitions for Parliament, i. 104; for Reform of Bishops, 105, 118; helps Long Parliament to raise army, 120; fortified, 1643, 147; armies fitted out by, 194; petitions for peace, 260; new militia ordinance, 274; shops shut, 163, 283, 285; averse to Cromwell party, 319; — lends money, ii. 128; — Preacher recommended to, iii. 206; Cromwell entertained by, 253; will resist Cromwell's enemies, iv. 199.
Loudon, Chancellor, in danger, i. 102; — Cromwell's letter to, ii. 56; character of, 60.
Love, Rev. Christopher, notice of, i. 185; — ii. 119; — his treason, iii. 66; condemned, 69; executed, 76.
Love, Dr., Cromwell's letter to, ii. 118.
Lowestoff, affair at, i. 132.
Lowry, John, notice of, ii. 145, 146; — *App. C.* iv. 315.
Lucas, Sir Charles, shot, ii. 41.
Ludlow, General, Memoirs of Cromwell, i. 16; Cromwell's remark to, 274; notes Cromwell's ill success, 320; — at trial of Charles I., ii. 102; of Council of State, 107; Deputy of Ireland, 288; Crom-

well's conversation with, 296; — and Cromwell, scene with, iii. 115; Republican, lives in Essex, 361; — iv. 222.
Lumsden, Col., killed at Dunbar, ii. 341.
Lunsford, Col., described, i. 118.
Lydcot, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, iii. 72.
Lyttleton, Lord, his running off with Great Seal, iii. 43.

Mace of the Commons, the, a bauble, iii. 136.
Mackworth, Col., in Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*; account of, 379 *n.*
Maidston, John, on Cromwell, i. 17; — ii. 87.
Maidstone fight, ii. 9.
Maine, Zachary, notice of, *App. C.* iv. 368.
Mainwaring censured, i. 62.
Major-Generals, the, iii. 318, 412-414, 426, 427; list of, 341 *n.*; abolished, 441; — iv. 18.
Maleverer, Col., Cromwell's letter in behalf of his Family, *App. C.* iv. 360.
Malevrier, Lord, Royalist, iii. 316.
Manasseh Ben Israel, learned Jew, iii. 360.
Manchester, Earl, Sergeant-Major of Associated Counties, i. 163; and Gen. Crawford, 181, 183; to reform Cambridge University, 181; quarrels with Cromwell, 195, 197; — one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Mandevil, Lord, dispute with Cromwell, i. 110. *See* Manchester, Earl.
Manning, Mr., spy, iii. 317, 405.
Manton, Mr., preaches at Installation, iv. 138.
Mardike taken, iv. 147.
Marston Moor. *See* Battle.
Marten, Henry, M.P., of Council of State, ii. 107; — character of, iii. 105; a lewd liver, 136.
Martyn, Sir Thomas, of Cambridge Committee, i. 129.
Maryland, and Virginia, differences between, iii. 274; Cromwell's letter to Commissioners of, 340.
Masham Family, notice of, i. 97.
Masham, Sir William, in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210.
Mass, Cromwell on the, ii. 242, 243.
Massey, Gen., how to be employed, i. 252; forces disbanded, 255; character of, 255; enlists soldiers, 285; — purged by Pride, ii. 100; — with Scots, iii. 69; wounded at Worcester, 88.
Mathews, Col., delinquent, ii. 85. 86.
Maurice, Prince, quits England, i. 247; — drowned, ii. 203.
Maynard, Mr., one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Mayor, Richard, Esq., char-

acter of, i. 305; — letters from Cromwell to, ii. 111, 114, 118, 120, 124, 127, 129, 147, 149, 200, 282, 300, 349; — iii. 76, 200; in Little Parliament, 142; of Customs Committee, 181; in Council of State, 184 *n.*, 197 *n.*
Mazarin, Giulio, Cardinal, policy of, iv. 3; Cromwell's letters to, 5, *App. C.* 374, 376, 377; his opinion of Cromwell, 147.
Meg, Muckle, in Edinburgh Castle, iii. 29 *n.*
Members, the Five, i. 119; the Eleven, 268; accused by Army, 283; list of, 283 *n.*; last appearance of, 285.
Middleton, Gen., at Preston fight, ii. 17; — for Charles II., iii. 2; Rebellion in Highlands, 99, 201.
Mildmay, Sir Henry, quarrels with Lord Wharton, ii. 45.
Militia, Ordinance of, i. 121; new, 274.
Milton, John, his burial, entry of, i. 46; pamphlets by, 106; — appointed Latin Secretary, ii. 119; — Sir H. Vane friend of, iii. 105; blind, 195, 322; letter by, iv. 204.
Milton State Papers criticised, i. 73; — iii. 175 *n.*
Ministers of Edinburgh, and Cromwell, ii. 355-370.
Mitchell, Col., Cromwell's letter to, iv. 373.
Mitton, Col., in Wales, i. 288.
Model, New, of the Army, i. *194, 200 n.*, 209, 213, 218.
Monarchy, Fifth, described, iii. 221; plot, iv. 38, 39.
Monk, Col. George, in the Tower, i. 186; in Ireland, 291; — in Scots War, ii. 300, 330, 339, 340; — at Edinburgh, iii. 26; made Lieut.-General of Ordnance, 61; sent to Stirling, 80; storms Dundee, 97; puts down rebellion in the Highlands, 99, 201; in Dutch War, 119, 131; Army mutinous, 275.
Monopoly, of soap, &c., i. 66.
Monro, Gen., in Scots Army, ii. 13; his motions, 42; rejected at Edinburgh, 51.
Montagu, Dr., censured, i. 62.
Montague family, i. 55.
Montague, Lord, a Puritan, i. 52.
Montague (Earl of Sandwich), Colonel of the Parliament foot, i. 209; at Bristol siege, 225, 227; receives King at Hinchinbrook, 275; — in Little Parliament, iii. 141; of Customs Committee, 181; in Council of State, 184 *n.*, 197 *n.*; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; made Admiral, 346; Cromwell's letters to, 366, 369, 384; — iv. 139, 141, 148; on Committee of Kingship, 29; assists the French, 86, 139, 142; at Installation, 138; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153.
Montgomery, Col. Robert, notice of, ii. 74; Major-General in Scots Army, 306, 308; iii. 15 *n.*, 40.

Montrose, Earl, in Scots Army, i. 103; routed in Scotland, 244; — taken and executed, ii. 295.
Moray House, Edinburgh, Cromwell at, ii. 70.
Mordington, Cromwell at, ii. 60, 64, 302; incident at, 303.
Morgan, Mr., to be taken, ii. 5, 6.
Morris, Governor of Pontefract Castle, ii. 79; Cromwell's letter to, 79.
Mosstroopers, Watt and Augustin, iii. 10, 11; routed by Col. Hacker, 31.
Mulgrave, Earl, ii. 47; — in Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*; — one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Munster for Parliament, ii. 220.
Musical Entertainment at Cromwell's, iv. 16.
Musselburgh, Cromwell at, ii. 305, 306, 314, 322; Cromwell's Army in, iii. 61.

Naseby described, i. 212, and *App. C.* iv. 328. *See* Battle.
Navigation Act, iii. 119.
Nayler, James, worshipped, iii. 271, 342; punished, iv. 19, 20.
Neal, on Cromwell, iii. 373.
Neile, Bishop, and Popery, i. 68; Parliament about to accuse, 64.
Newark, designs on, i. 143, 147.
Newbury. *See* Battle.
Newcastle, Earl, helps the King, i. 120; his Popish Army, 142; besieges Hull, 167, 170; retires disgusted 190.
Newcastle, Mayor of, Cromwell's letter to, iv. 1.
Newhall estate, iii. 374.
Newmarket rendezvous. *See* Army.
Newport, Negotiations at, ii. 69, 82.
New Year's Day, when. *See* Year.
Nicholas, Capt. at Chepstow, ii. 7.
Noble's Memoirs criticised, i. 15.
Norham, situation of, ii. 64.
North, Sir Dudley, Cromwell's letter to, iv. 332.
Norton, Col. Richard, serves under Earl Manchester, i. 163; notice of, 306, 312; Cromwell's letters to, 306, 311, 313; — purged by Pride, ii. 108; — in Little Parliament, iii. 142; in Council of State, 184 *n.*
Nottingham, Charles I. erects his standard at, i. 114; — iii. 84.
Nova Scotia, occupied for Cromwell, *App. C.* iv. 386.
Noy, Attorney, conduct of, in 1632, i. 70; his advancement, death, and dissection, 72, 73.

Oblivion and remembrance, i. 8.
O'Bryen, Barnabas, notice of, ii. 142.
Officers, one hundred, remonstrate with Cromwell on Kingship, iv. 23, 24; petition of, on Kingship, 129.

Okey, Col., taken at Bristol siege, i. 226; — at Inverkeithing fight, iii. 72; Republican, 204.
Oldenburg, Duke, his present to Cromwell, iii. 272.
O'Neil, Henry, joins Ormond, ii. 198.
O'Neil, Hugh, Governor of Clonmel, ii. 287.
O'Neil, Owen Roe, character of, ii. 173.
Onslow, Sir Richard, in Kingship Committees, iv. 75.
Order to Keeper of St. James's Library, ii. 113.
Ordinance of Militia. *See* Militia.
Ordinance, Self-denying, i. 194, 199, 200.
Ordinances of Cromwell, iii. 196, 197.
Ormond, Earl, Irish levied by, i. 254; character of, 289; — strong in Ireland, ii. 112; routed by Jones, 149; at Wexford, 190; at Ross, 193; — plotting in England, iv. 164, 191, 199.
Oswestry, Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 393.
Otes, described, i. 97.
Otley, Col., at disbanding of Rump, iii. 137.
Ouse river, i. 86.
Overbury poisoned, i. 40.
Overton, Col., Governor of Hull, i. 295; — in Scots War, ii. 299, 340; — at Inverkeithing, iii. 70, 72; Republican, 204; sent to the *Tower, 275.*
Overton, Richard, a Leveller, ii. 126.
Owen, Col., Sir John, in Wales, i. 288; — delinquent, ii. 83, 86.
Owen, Dr., in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210; preaches to Second Parliament, 388.
Oxford, Charles I. at, i. 136; surrendered, 245; — Cromwell, &c. feasted at, ii. 140.
Oxford University reformed, iii. 45; Cromwell Chancellor of, 45; — Cromwell and, iv. 369, 392.

Pack, Sir Christopher, motion by, iv. 22.
Packer, Lieut.-Col., notice of, i. 181, 183.
Pamphlets on Civil War, King's, i. 2, 4, 106.
Paper, blotting, not in use, i. 262 *n.*
Papist Army, Newcastle's, i. 142.
Papist Monuments destroyed, i. 147.
Papists, to be hanged, i. 190; — cruelties in Ireland, ii. 189, 229, 230; — against Protestants, iv. 169-171.
Parker, Mr., Cromwell's letter to, iii. 138.
Parliament, Third, of Charles I., i. 56; is Puritan, 57; its Petition of Right, 57; doings of, 57; Alured's letter about, 58; prorogued, 61; holds down the Speaker, 65; conduct after, 65; Short, summoned 1640, 102; dissolved, 103;

dissolved, 103; Long, summoned 3d Nov. 1640, 104; sketch of, 104; votes against Bishops, 105; secures the Militia, 114; grand Petition of, 117; Charles I. attempts to seize Five Members, 119; goes to City for refuge, 119; how it raises army, 120; affairs in July 1643, 162; takes the Scots Covenant, Sept. 1643, 169; affairs in 1644, 194; disagreement of Generals, 195; affairs prosper, 247; new Members elected (Recruiters), 247; Army turns on it, 267, 268; declares against Army, 271, 272; votes lands to Cromwell, 307, 308; number of Members in 1648, 313 (*see* Members); — purged by Pride, ii. 99, 100 (*see* Rump); — new one to be elected, iii. 107, 125; difficulties in choosing, 132; Little, summons for, 139; members of, 141, 142; meets 4th July 1653, 142; failure of, 178; doings and resignation of, 184-186; First Protectorate, assembles 3d Sept. 1654, 209-211; unsuccessful, 237; signs the Recognition, 268, 269; doings of, 269, 270; dissolved, 311; Second Protectorate, assembles 17th Sept. 1656, 388; — doings in Sindercomb's plot, iv. 9, 210; doings of, 16-19; offers Cromwell title of King, 23, &c.; presses him to accept the title, 33, 34; second session of, 152; the two Houses disagree, 165, 166; dissolved, 198.

Pass, form of, in 1649, ii. 110.

Paul's, St., Cross described, i. 63; — Cathedral, a horse-guard, ii. 136.

Peak, Sir Robert, taken at Basing, i. 236.

Pembroke besieged by Cromwell, ii. 3, 14.

Pembroke, Earl, sent to Charles I., i. 254; — Chancellor of Oxford, iii. 45.

Penn, Admiral, sails with the fleet, iii. 273; sent to the Tower, 337, 344-346.

Penn, Quaker, iii. 344.

Penruddock, Col., in arms, iii. 316; beheaded, 317.

Perth surrenders, iii. 80.

Peterborough, Earl, notice of, ii. 143.

Peters, Rev. Hugh, chaplain of train, 209; secretary to Cromwell, 235; his narrative of Basing, 238; at Putney, 286; — at Pembroke, ii. 3; in Ireland, 149; — Cromwell to be King, iii. 97.

Petition, of Right, i. 57; altered, 62; London, 105, 274; Buckinghamshire, 115; — Surrey, ii. 8; — of Officers, iii. 125; — and Advice of Parliament, iv. 23, 128, 129, 133, 137.

Phayr, Col., at execution of Charles I., ii. 103; at Cork, 202; — Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 357.

Piccadilly, derivation of, iv. 128 *n.*
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, in Council of State, iii. 184 *n.*; 197 *n.*
Pickering, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 227; at Basing, 236; — his death and funeral, iv. 331.
Piedmont, persecution in, iii. 320, 321, 326; — iv. 204.
Pierpoint, Mr., ii. 44; — Cromwell at his house, iii. 85; — and Cromwell on Kingship, iv. 53.
Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, i. 28.
Pinchbeck invented by Prince Rupert, ii. 203.
Pinkerton's stories of Cromwell, value of, iii. 6.
Plague, Army escapes, in 1645, i. 231.
Plate fleet, prize of, iii. 441.
Plot, Gunpowder, i. 37; of Army, 104, 113; Waller's, 156; — by Rev. C. Love, &c., iii. 66; Anabaptist, 192, 193; Royalist, 194, 205, 313; — iv. 151, 164, 200; — various Republican, iii. 204, 287-294; Gerard's, 205, 208; in the North, 275; Penruddock's, 316; Sexby's, 381; — Sindercomb's, iv. 8; Venner's, 38; Hewit and Slingsby's, 200, 201.
Politics and Religion in 1642, i. 125.
Pomfret. *See* Pontefract.
Pontefract, Cromwell at, ii. 78, 79.
Popery in 1623, i. 47; images of, destroyed, 147; — Cromwell on, ii. 236; Cromwell to suppress, 244.
Pope Alexander VII., Cromwell's opinion of, iii. 406.
Popish States, War with, iii. 394-400.
Portuguese Treaty, iii. 199, 209; Ambassador's brother, 208; King, 369-372.
Potts, Sir John, letter to, i. 133.
Powel, Presbyterian-Royalist Colonel, ii. 1, 2, 118.
Powel, Anabaptist, against Cromwell, iii. 192.
Power, definition of, iii, 189.
Powick possessed by the Scots, iii. 88, 91.
Pownel, Major, at Preston fight, ii. 19.
Poyer, Col., his doings in Wales, ii. 1-4; shot, 118.
Poyntz, General, enlists soldiers, i. 285; slashes the mob, 285.
Prayer-meeting, Windsor Castle, 1648, i. 320, &c.
Prayers for the Parliament Army, i. 207; — an English troop interrupted at, ii. 321; — Cromwell's last, iv. 224.
Preachers, triers of. *See* Triers.
Preaching, Cromwell on, ii. 364; — iii. 33; — iv. 109.
Presbyterianism, Charles I. averse to, i. 186; and schism, 217; adopted by Parliament, 263; overthrown, 286. *See* Independents.
Presentation, Cromwell's, to Rectory of Houghton Conquest, *App. C.* iv. 378.

Preston, Dr., fame of, i. 50.
Preston. *See* battle.
Pride, Colonel, summoned by Commons, i. 272; — at Preston battle, ii. 26; purges the Commons, 99; in Scots War, 299, 340; would hang up the Lawyers' gowns, 341 *n.*; — one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Prince, Thomas, Leveller, ii. 126.
Proclamation by Cromwell, 1648, ii. 61; after Dunbar fight, 334; Edinburgh, 371.
Protestation of Commons, 1641, i. 115, and *App. C.* iv. 313-316.
Prussian Monarchy, founder of, iv. 170 *n.*
Prynne, William, first appearance of, i. 69; his Histriomastix, 69; in pillory in 1633, 72; again in 1637, 93; speech in pillory, 94; — purged by Pride, ii. 100; — assists Dr. Hewit, iv. 201.
Puritan, Sermons, i. 8; history, 12; demands at Hampton-Court Conference, 36; characteristic, 49, 50; leaders, 52.
Puritanism, our last heroism, i. 2; faded, 9; Dryasdust on, 10; nature of, 78.
Puritans, English and Scots, i. 104; become formidable, 112.
Putney Church, Army-meeting at, i. 286.
Pym, John, M.P., a Puritan, i. 52; speech by, 59; lives at Chelsea, 116.
Quakerism, germ of, ii. 134.
Quakers, first Scotch, iii. 36. *See* Nayler, Fox, Penn.
Queen of Charles I., doings by, i. 142.
Queries to Edinburgh clergy, ii. 368; — of Scotch Western Army, iii. 7.
Ragland Castle besieged, i. 252; surrenders, 247.
Rainsborough, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 225; — deserted by the Fleet, ii. 15; assassinated, 79.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, execution of, i. 45.
Raleigh's History, Cromwell's opinion of, ii. 285.
Ramsay, Rev. Robert, preaches before Cromwell, iii. 62.
Rawlins, Captain of Parliament horse, i. 209.
Recruiters, new Members of Parliament, i. 247.
Redbank, fight at, ii. 26. *See* Preston.
Reformers, true, i. 79.
Remonstrance, against Buckingham, i. 61; against Laud, 64; and Petition of Ministers, 105; Grand, of Long Parliament, 117; — of Scotch Western Army, iii. 7, 12, 17.
Resolutioner, Protester, iii. 17, 37.
Reynolds, Col., at Ferns, ii. 177; surprises Carrick, 212, 213; — in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210; — on

sists the French, iv. 86, 137, 142; death of, 149.
Ribble Bridge, fight at, ii. 23. *See* Preston.
Rich, Col., in Scotland, iii. 80, 82.
Rich, Mr., and Frances Cromwell, iii. 376-379; — iv. 151; death of, 214.
Richmond, Duke, present to, i. 299.
Riots. *See* Apprentices.
Robinson, Luke, sent to Charles I., i. 254; — turncoat, iv. 165.
Robinson, Rev. Mr., Cromwell's letter to, ii. 108.
Rochester, Earl. *See* Wilmot.
Roghill, ii. 254.
Rolf, Major, accused, ii. 45.
Rooksby, Major, killed at Dunbar, ii. 342.
Ross Town, besieged, ii. 192; taken, 197.
Rothes, Earl, taken at Worcester, iii. 93.
Rouse, Francis, Translator of the Psalms, i. 101; — in Little Parliament, iii. 142; Speaker of Little Parliament, 186; of Council of State, 197*n.*; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Rowe, Scoutmaster, character of, ii. 53.
Royston, Rendezvous. *See* Army.
Rump, doings of the, iii. 104-108; must be dissolved, 133; dismissed by Cromwell, 136.
Rupert, Prince, his father dies, i. 70; plunderings of, in 1643, 127; nicknamed Robber, 164; relieves York, 186; routed at Marston Moor, 187; at Worcester, 1645, 202; at Naseby battle, 213; at Bristol, 224; manner of his leaving Bristol, 232; quits England, 247; — in Irish seas, ii. 203.
Rushworth, John, in danger at Naseby, i. 214; Cromwell's letter to, 255; — with Cromwell in Scotland, ii. 300; — reporter of Cromwell's Speech, iv. 191.
Rushworthian chaos, i. 10, 58; — ii. 300.
Russel, Francis, Henry Cromwell's father-in-law, i. 189, 313; — purged by Pride, ii. 108.

Sa, Don Pantaleon, beheaded, iii. 209.
Sadler, Adjutant, in Ireland, ii. 279.
Sadler, John, Cromwell's letter to, offering him Chief Justiceship in Munster, *App. C.* iv. 354.
Saffron Walden. *See* Army.
St. Abb's Head described, ii. 323.
St. Albans, Commission of Array at, i. 132. *See* Army.
St. Fagan's, fight at, ii. 2.
St. George's Hill, Levellers at, ii. 132.
St. Ives described, i. 83-85.
St. James's Fields, scene in,

i. 285; — House, bestowed on Cromwell, ii. 259.
St. John, Oliver, character of, i. 95; — ii. 42; — related to Cromwell, i. 98; is Solicitor-General, 107; Cromwell's letters to, 167; — ii. 43; — with Cromwell at Aylesbury, iii. 96; character of, 105; at Conference at Speakers, 111-115; ambassador to Holland, 118.
St. John, Mrs., Cromwell's letter to, i. 98.
St. Johnston (Perth) surrenders, iii. 80.
St. Neot's, fight at, ii. 13.
St. Nicholas, Thomas, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 89; account of, 90.
Salisbury, Levellers at, ii. 137; — insurrection at, iii. 315.
Santa Cruz, Blake beats Spanish at, iv. 85.
Saunders, Col., notice of, ii. 5; Cromwell's letter to, 5; — in Scotland, iii. 74, 80.
Savoy, Duke, persecutor, iii. 320.
Say and Sele, Lord, a Puritan, i. 52; — in Church Commission, iii. 198.
Scot of Scotstarvet, notice of, ii. 61; — iii. 86*n*.
Scots Committee of Estates, Cromwell's letters to, ii. 54, 62, 71; — iii. 4, 39; extinguished at Alyth, 98.
Scots, affairs in 1637, i. 94; Covenant, 95; affairs in 1639, 102; motions of their Army, 103; Declaration and proceedings of, in England, 103; 104; demands, 106; assist English Parliament, 169; Army enters England, 1644, 180; at Marston Moor, 186, 187; Commissioners and Cromwell, 199; Army returns home, 249; Negotiations concluded, 260; — proclaim Charles II., ii. 191; assist Charles II., 221; their Covenant in 1650, 292, 293; — iii. 2, 3; — call in Charles II., ii. 295; prepare to repel Cromwell, 302; Army skirmishes with Cromwell, 305, 306; Army, how officered, 208; their poverty, &c., described, 313; their Covenant commented on by Cromwell, 315; skirmish with Cromwell, 319; routed at Dunbar, 332, 333; Clergy and Cromwell, 354-371; — Committee of Estates, Cromwell's letters to, ii. 54, 62, 71; — iii. 4, 39; divisions among, 2, 17; at Stirling, levying forces &c., 30; entrenched at Torwood, 69; invade England, 79-83; routed at Worcester, 87-94; Cromwell's opinion of, iv. 184.
Scotland united to England, iii. 99.
Scott, Major Thomas, report by, ii. 106; Cromwell's letter to, 202; — Republican, iii. 198; does not sign the Recognition, 269; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 388; — iv. 191, 192; —

cluded, iii. 440.; — death of, iv. 165.
Scoutmaster, office of. *See* Rowe.
Scroope, Col., pursues Scots ii. 35.
Seals, Great, new, &c., iii. 42—44. *See* Commonwealth.
Sedgwick, Major-Gen., in Jamaica, iii. 348; — in America, *App. C.* iv. 386; — death of iii. 357.
Selden, John, imprisoned, i. 65.
Serle, Daniel, Governor of Barbadoes, iii. 348; Cromwell's letter to, 352.
Sewster, Robina, family of, i. 266; — married to Lockhart, iv. 143.
Sexby, Edward, Trooper, examined, i. 273; — 100*l.* voted to, ii. 37; his plottings, iii. 315, 381, 411; — iv. 7; his death, 150, 151.
Shakespeare's death, i. 39.
Sherland, Parson, apprehended, iii. 359.
Shilbourn, Colonel, in Ireland, ii. 275.
Shipmoney, Writ of, i. 72. *See* Hampden.
Sidney, Col. Algernon, in Parliament Army, i. 209; — in Rump Parliament, iii. 134.
Silence, nature of, i. 6.
Simes, Major, shot, ii. 274.
Sindercomb, Miles, character and plot of, iv. 7—9; poisons himself, 15.
Sinnott, Col. David, Governor of Wexford, negotiations *with Cromwell*, ii. 177—187.
Skippon, Major-Gen., conveys Scots money, i. 262; — in Council of State, iii. 197 *n*; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; a Major-General, 341 *n*; one of Cromwell's Lords, iv. 153.
Slepe Hall described, i. 85.
Slingsby, Sir Henry, in arms, iii. 315; — plot and execution of, iv. 200, 201.
Smectymnuus pamphlets, i. 106.
Societies, Printing. *See* Dryasdust.
Soldiers at sack of Basing, anecdotes of, i. 239, 240.
Somers Tracts criticised, i. 73, 218 *n*; — iv. 22.
Sorrow defined, i. 49.
South Sea Island Queen, anecdote of, ii. 104.
Southwark declares for Army, i. 285.
Spain, Alliance with broken, i. 47; War with, 48; issue of, 48; — War with, iii. 346, 351, 380; reasons for, 392—397.
Speech, Oliver Cromwell's first, i. 63.
Speeches, how to read Cromwell's, i. 74; fragments of, against Earl Manchester and present Parliament commanders, 196—199.
Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.
I. Opening of the Little Parliament, 4 July 1653; iii. 143—175.
II. Meeting of the First Pro-

tectorate Parliament, 4 Sept. 1654; iii. 212—235.
III. To the same Parliament, 12. Sept. 1654; 241—268.
IV. Dissolution of the First Protectorate Parliament, 22 Jan. 1654—5: 281—311.
V. Meeting of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 17, Sept. 1656: 389—438.
VI. To the same, 23 Jan. 1656—7: iv. 10—15.
VII. To the same, 31 March 1657; 25—28.
VIII. To a Committee of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 3 April 1657: 29—32.
IX. To the Second Protectorate Parliament in a body, 8. April 1657: 34—38
X. Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine in regard to the title of King, 11. April 1657: 40—52.
XI. Second Conference with the same 13 April 1657: 53—74.
XII. Third Conference with the same, 20 April 1657: 76—84.
XIII. Fourth Conference with the same, 21 April 1657: 87—127.
XIV. To the Second Protectorate Parliament in a body, 8 May 1657: 130—132.
['XV.' should be] To the same, 25 May 1657: *App. C.* iv. 389,
XV. To the same, 9 June 1657, on the presentation of some Bills for assent: 135.
XVI. To the Two Houses of Parliament; Opening of the Second Session of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 20 Jan. 1657—8: 155—163.
XVII. To the same Parliament, the Commons having raised debates as to the Title of the other House, 25 Jan. 1657—8: 166—190.
XVIII. Dissolution of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 4 Feb. 1658; 193—198.
Speldhurst Living, iii. 183.
Sports, Book of burned, i. 147.
Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, i. 202 *n.*
Stamford, Earl, defeated, i. 162.
Stamford taken by Cromwell, i. 150.
Standard set up, Pamphlet, iv. 39, 75, 79.
Stapleton, Sir Philip, Presbyterian, i. 270; — ii. 53. *See* Members, Eleven.
Stapleton, Bryan, notice of, ii. 53.
Stapylton, Rev. Robert, ii. 53, 114; preaches in Edinburgh High Church, 376.
Steward, Sir Thomas, Kt., death of, i. 91.
Stewart of Allertoun, iii. 63, 64.
Stewart of Blantyre, duel with Lord Wharton, ii. 45.
Stockings, anecdotes of, i. 41.
Stonyhurst, Cromwell at, ii. 18.
Storie, Mr., notice of, i. 89; Cromwell's letter to, 87.
Strahan, Major, notice of, ii.

60; in Scots Army, 306, 307, 318; — iii. 3; — at Glasgow, ii. 374; — Remonstrance by, iii. 6, 7, 12; Cromwell's Letter to, 8; joins Cromwell, 17; is excommunicated, 60.

Strafford, Earl, subscribes 20,000*l.* to the King, i. 103; in the Tower, 107; trial, execution, and character, 114—116.

Strickland, Walter, of Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*, 211; — iv. 1.

Strode, William, imprisoned, i. 65.

Subscription, Irish act of, ii. 247 *n.*

Suffolk, Earl, sent to Charles I., i. 254.

Suffolk, Cromwell's letters to Deputy Lieutenants of, i. 131, 210.

Suir river, castles on, ii. 261.

Summons, Parliamentary, iii. 139.

Sun, eclipse of, in 1652, iii. 118.

Surrey petition and riot, ii. 8.

Sutton's Hospital. *See* Charter House.

Sweden, Whitlocke concludes treaty with, iii. 200.

Swedish Ambassador, audience of, iii. 336, 337; takes leave, 387.

Swinton, Laird, joins Cromwell, iii. 18; in Little Parliament, 142; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210.

Sydenham, Col., in Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*, 320.

Syler, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, iii. 72.

Symonds, Mr., engraver, iii. 40—44.

Synott, Col. *See* Sinnott.

Taaff, Father, killed, ii. 171.

Taaff, Lucas, Governor of Ross, Cromwell's letters to, ii. 192, 194, 195, 196.

Taaff, Lord, his intrigues, iii. 413 and *n.*

Tate, Zouch, M. P., introduces Self-denying Ordinance, i. 199.

Teme river, near Worcester, iii. 88.

Tempest, Sir Richard, Royalist, in Lancashire, ii. 9.

Theauro John, a kind of Quaker, iii. 270, 271.

Thomond, Earl. *See* O'Bryen.

Thompson, Capt., Leveller, ii. 137; shot, 140.

Thompson, Cornet, Leveller, ii. 138; shot 138.

Thornhaugh, Major, slain at Preston, ii. 24, 32.

Thurloe, Secretary to Cromwell, iii. 195; Cromwell's letter to, 333; and Cromwell on Kingship, iv. 53.

Tillinghurst, Rev. Mr., and Cromwell, iii. 328. 330.

Tipperary county fined. ii. 257.

Titchborne, Alderman, of Customs Committee, iii. 181.

Titus, Capt., 50*l.* voted to, i. 275; with Charles I., 317; — Killing no Murder, iv. 15. *n.*

Tonnage and Poundage disputed, i. 62.

Toope, and Sindercomb, iv. 8, 9.
Trade, Committee of, iii. 361.
Treasury, Commissioners of, iii. 320; state of the, in 1656, 429.
Treaty, Ripon, i. 104; at Oxford, 136, 147; Uxbridge, 185; with the King, 252, 260, 273, 269; — ii. 69.
Treaties, Cromwell's, iii. 199, 335, 346.
Tredah, garrison of, ii. 162; stormed, 164, 166, 173; list of officers slain at, 176.
Trevor, Col., and Venables, ii. 207 *n.*; — iii. 358.
Triers of preachers, iii. 197, 323, 442.
Troopers, three, present Army-letter, i. 272, 273.
Tulchan Bishops, account of, 141.
Tunis, Dey of, brought to reason, iii. 323, 324.
Turner, Sir James, narrative by, ii. 16; wounded by his own men, 25, 27; prisoner 40.
Turner, Rev. Mr., Cromwell's opinion of, iii. 207.
Tweedale, Earl of, on Committee of Kingship, iv. 29.
Twistleton, Col., at Dunbar, ii. 340.

Ulster, pikes, ii. 218, 219.
Underwood, Captain, Cromwell's letter to, iv. 332.
Uniformity in religion, i. 105, 263.
Urrey, Col. *See* Hurry.
Uttoxeter, capture of Scots at, ii. 27.

Van Druske, Gen., taken, ii. 33.
Vane, Sir Henry, jun., of Committee of Both Kingdoms, i. 203; — of Council of State, ii. 107; — character of, iii. 105; a juggler, 136; a rejected M.P. candidate, 383.
Vane, Sir Henry, sen., in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210.
Varney, Sir Ralph, his Notes, i. 106.
Varney, Sir Edmund, in Tredah, ii. 165, 166.
Venables, Col., at Derry, ii. 174, 205, 208; — made General, sails with fleet, iii. 273; sent to the Tower, 337, 344-346.
Venner, Cooper, rising by, iv. 38, 39.
Vere family, Fairfax's wife of the, ii. 296.
Vermuyden, Col., notice of, i. 209.
Vicars's relation of Winceby fight, i. 175.
Villemain, M., criticised, i. 219.
Virginia and Maryland, differences between, iii. 274.
Voluntary principle, i. 263.
Vowel's plot, iii. 205, 208.
Vyner, Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor of London, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 206.

Wagstaff, Sir Joseph, in arms, iii. 316, 405. *See* Penruddock.
Wakefield, Lord Fairfax at, i. 148.
Wales, Prince of, Fleet revolts to, ii. 15; at Yarmouth, 15.
Wales, tumults in, ii. 1.
Walker, Clement, M.P., described, i. 308; purged by Pride, ii. 100.
Wallace, Mr., his house in Edinburgh, iii. 27.
Waller, Sir Hardress, at Bristol siege, i. 227; wounded at Basing, 236.
Waller, Poet, his plot, i. 156.
Waller, Sir William, in high repute, i. 147; beaten at Lansdown heath, 161; his army deserts, 194; is Presbyterian, 271; deputed to Army, 272; purged by Pride, 100.
Wallop, Robert, M.P., notice of, ii. 178 *n.*; — in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210.
Walpole, Horace, collector of letters, ii. 108.
Walton, Col., Cromwell's letters to, i. 187, 192; account of, 189, 190; — at trial of King, ii. 102.
Walton, Dr., Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 372.
Walwyn, William, Leveller, ii. 126.
War, the Thirty Years, i. 70; with Scots, 102; the Bishops', 103; Civil, commenced, 111; *exciting* cause of, 113, 114; in 1643, 136; — Second Civil, ii. 1. *See* Dutch, Spain, Welsh.
Warrington, Scots surrender at, ii. 26, 34.
Warriston. *See* Johnston, Archibald.
Warwick, Sir Philip, his opinion of Cromwell, i. 96, 108.
Warwick, Earl, notice of, iii. 376; — at Installation, iv. 138; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153; letter to Cromwell, 215.
Waterford, besieged, ii. 213; — Cromwell's correspondence at, *App. C.* iv. 349-352.
Waterhouse, John, recommended by Cromwell, iii. 48.
Watt, Mosstrooper, iii. 11.
Waugh, Rev. John, at Dunbar battle, ii. 333; — description of, iii. 37, 38.
Weimar, Bernhard of, in Thirty-Years War, i. 70.
Welden, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 225.
Wells, Rev. Mr., notice of, i. 89. 90.
Welsh War, ii. 1, — and *App. C.* iv. 339; — ended, ii. 15.
Wentworth, Sir John, fined 1000*l.*, i. 135.
Wentworth, Sir Peter, in the Rump, iii. 135.
West, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, iii. 72.
Westminster Hall, riots in, i. 118; ii. 8.
Weston, Henry, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 189.

Westrow, Tom, notice of, iii. 85, 86.
Wexford, besieged, ii. 178; propositions for surrender of, 185; stormed, 188.
Whalley, Capt., at Cambridge, i. 130; Major, commended, 153, 154; meets the King, 275; guards the King, 296; — at trial of King, ii. 102; Commissary-General in Scots War, 299; skirmishes with the Scots, 304, 306; wounded at Dunbar, 342; his letter to Governor Dundas, 356; — in Fife, iii. 79; at Conference at Speaker's, 112-115; removes the Mace, 238; Major-General, 341 *n.*; — on Committee of Kingship, iv. 29; in favour of Kingship, 133; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153.
Wharton, Lord, a Puritan, i. 203, 302; — his character, ii. 44, 222; Cromwell's letters to, 46, 223, 353; — iii. 86; — *App. C.* iv. 371.
Wharton, Duke, character of, ii. 48.
Wharton, Manor House, ii. 45.
Whiggamore raid, ii. 41, 51.
Whitaker, Historian, mistake by, i. 35 *n.*
White, Major, at Dunbar, ii. 340.
Whitehall, Cromwell removes to, iii. 199.
Whitlocke, Bulstrode, of Council of State, ii. 107; — Cromwell's present to, iii. 96; at Conference at Speaker's, 111-115; Cromwell consults with, 127; goes to Sweden, 200 (and *App. C.* iv. 375); in Cromwell's First Parliament, 210; his quarrel with Cromwell, 319, 320; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 440; — on Committee of Kingship, iv. 29, 38; and Cromwell on Kingship, 53; at Installation, 138; one of Cromwell's Lords, 153; Cromwell's letter to, *App. C.* iv. 375.
Widdrington, Sir Thomas, at Conference at Speaker's, iii. 112-115; Keeper of Great Seal, 320; — elected Speaker, iv. 10; at Installation, 138.
Wigan Moor, Scots Army at, ii. 24.
Wight, Charles I. at Isle of, i. 299, 302.
Wilde, Chief Baron, notice of, *App. C.* iv. 381; Cromwell's letter to, 381.
Wildman, Major, in Cromwell's First Parliament, iii. 210; opposed to Cromwell, 269; seized plotting, is put in Chepstow Castle, 314.
Williams, Archbishop of York, i. 118; notice of, 287; in Wales, 287; Cromwell's letter to, 289.
Williams, Sir Trevor, to be taken, ii. 5, 6.
Willingham, Mr., Cromwell's letter to, i. 105.
Willis, Sir Richard, notice of, iii. 208; — spy, iv. 181.
Willoughby of Parham, Lord, at Gainsborough, i. 151; let-

ter to Cromwell, 158; complained of, 180.
Wilmot, Earl Rochester, escapes, iii. 317; notice of, 405.
Winceby. *See* Battle.
Winchester, Cromwell's summons to, *App. C.* 335; — taken, i. 233-235.
Winchester, Marquis of, taken at Basing, i. 236, 241.
Windebank, Secretary, flies, i. 107.
Windebank, Col., shot, i. 206.
Windsor, Parliament Army at, i. 136.
Windsor Castle, Army-council at, i. 320.
Winram, Laird, and Charles II., ii. 191, 221.
Winstanley, Leveller, ii. 133.
Winwood, M.P. for Windsor, iii. 96.
Wither, Poet, notice of, iii. 85.
Wogan, Col., his maraudings, ii. 219, 220; — *App. C.* iv. 354.
Wolseley, Sir Charles, in Council of State, iii. 197 *n.*; — on Committee of Kingship, iv. 50, 53. *See* Worseley.
Worcester, Marquis, his lands given to Cromwell, i. 307; author of Century of Inventions, 308; — iii. 58.
Worcester, Charles II. at, iii. 85, — *see* Battle; state of, after battle, 95; — *App. C.* iv. 364.
Worseley, Col., a Major-General, iii. 341 *n.*
Wray, Sir John, notice of, *App. C.* iv. 323; Cromwell's letter to, 324.
Wyatt, Sir Dudley, notice of, i. 300.

Year's Day, New, difference of style, i. 35 *n.*
York, Duke of, escapes, i. 262; — at Dunkirk, iv. 149.
York, City relieved by Prince Rupert, i. 186; captured by Parliament Army, 190.
York House, meeting at, iv. 191.
Yorke, Hon. Mr., papers burned, i. 302.
Yorkshire, the Civil War in, i. 136.

Zanchy, Col., relieves Passage, ii. 219; wounded, 261.

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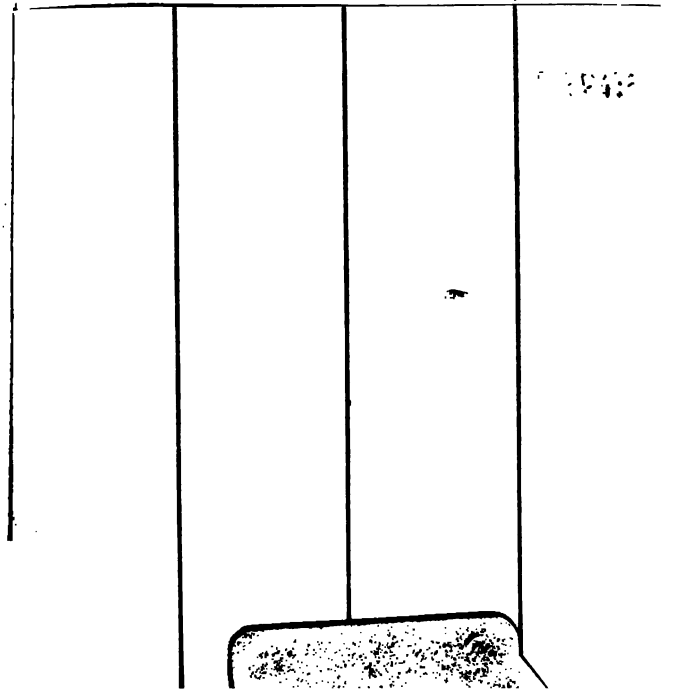
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